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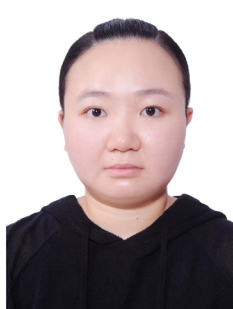LI Shuangshuang

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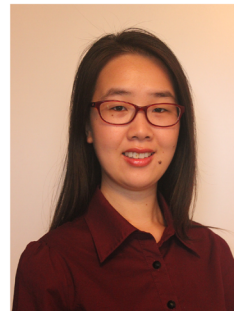
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CONTENTS

Scholar Profile

[Special Contributions]

The Influence of Subjective Social Status on Self-Rated Health: Evidence from China

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Abstract: Subjective Social Status (SSS) inevitably affects the self-rated health of individuals and/or societal groups. Based on the evidence from China, this paper aims to 1) assess the influence of Objective Social Status and Subjective Social Status on differences in self-rated health in China; 2) to examine the correlations between Subjective Social Status and perceived health. The data from the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS) 2010 are selected to achieve the two aims with SSS measured by Subjective Family Economic Status (SFES, using the Likert scale) and Subjective Social Class (SSC, using the MacArthur scale), and Health Status measured by a continuous ill score calculated by the standard logarithmic normal distribution index conversion of self-rated health. Advanced statistical modeling using the nested multiple robust regression model and interaction analysis is used to deal with heteroscedasticity from the CGSS data. It is found that: 1) lower SSS is associated with poor health status and SSS is a more comprehensive predictor of health status; 2) aging has more apparent influences on the health of lower SSS groups; 3) lower SSS groups have received higher health returns from their educational attainment than higher SSS groups though they tend to be in poorer health status; 4) once have a chronic disease, the health of lower SFES groups will suffer more deterioration than higher ones.

Keywords: China; Subjective Social Status; ill score; interaction analysis

Notes on the contributors: PAN Zequan is currently chair of the Department of Sociology and deputy dean of the School of Public Administration in Central South University, Hunan province, China. His research focuses on such areas as theory and method of sociology, public health, social psychology and behavior, social development, social policy and community governance, social organization and social work, and among others. The other three contributors, LI Tingyu, LIN Tingting and WU Junjie are students with MA or BA degrees at Central South University with their academic interest in grassroots social governance, social psychology, social survey and sociology of deviance and crime, etc.

1   Introduction

There is considerable empirical evidence that correlations exist between social status and a wide range of health outcomes, even though researchers are still debating on causal directions (Adler & Ostrove 1999). In addition to the objective measures of social status (i. e., income, occupation, education), there are increasing researches that are focused on the link between Subjective Social Status (SSS) and health status. The interest in SSS stems from two resources (Singh-Manoux et al. 2005). One is the evidence showing that SSS is a more comprehensive measure of social status because it includes both socioeconomic factors and the consciousness of the subjects about their social positions. The other is that perception of place in the social hierarchy can be a mediator between income inequality and population health by neuroendocrine mechanisms. The MacArthur scale of Subjective Social Status was introduced by Adler et al. (2000) to capture individuals' perceived social status. Individuals were required to rate their social positions on the rung of a visual ladder concerning money, education, and occupation.

As for the measurement of self-rated health, many points should be paid attention to, although self-rated health has many advantages compared with other various measures. As an ordinal variable, there are four types of assignment methods for self-rated health currently. The first method is to dichotomize it into "healthy" and "unhealthy". It is simple but has two shortcomings. One of them is that this dichotomization artificially reduces health information. For example, if someone's health status improved from "very unhealthy" to "unhealthy", and the health of others remains the same, the health of the whole would improve actually, but the dichotomization would fail to reflect the specific changes in health. The other is that there has no consistent standard for the "neutral" were "healthy" or "unhealthy". The second method is to calculate an overall health index by assignment. The third method is to construct an ordinal Probit model by treating self-rated health as an ordinal variable. In addition, joining the situational variables makes the Probit model become the Hopit model (Liu 2008). Index conversion is the fourth method which assumes that there is a continuous but unobservable latent variable that is conforming to the logarithmic normal distribution behind ordinal self-rated health. This is because most people tend to have a preferential estimate about their health status (it is also the truth) and the lognormal distribution allows self-rated health to be a skewed distribution. Five grades of the actual score are calculated by dividing the standard logarithmic normal range into five parts according to the proportion of the five grades in the total samples, then the normal distribution table is checked and converted (Hu 2005; Wagstaff & Van Doorslaer 1994; Zhou 2013).

There is extensive evidence-based research on the associations between SSS and health in the last decade. Abundant evidence can be found from different countries (Guarnizo-Herreno et al. 2013; Kopp et al. 2005; Operario et al. 2004), different age groups (Brennan & Singh 2012; Chen et al. 2012; Demakakos et al. 2008; Fujiwara et al. 2014; Goldman et al. 2006; Ha et al. 2013; Hamilton et al. 2014; Jarrin et al. 2014; Tsakos et al. 2011), different ethnics (Cooper et al. 2010; Euteneuer et al. 2012; Ostrove et al. 2000), different clinical samples (Allison et al. 2013; Michail & Birchwood 2013; Moskowitz et al. 2013; Shanmugasegaram et al. 2013), and other different samples, such as immigrants (Leu et al. 2008; Nicklett & Burgard 2009; Sanchon-Macias et al. 2013) and pregnant women (Reitzel et al. 2007). All of these researches and evidence support that

lower SSS is correlated with several health indicators and disease hazards, such as lower self-rated health, diabetes, mortality, depressive symptoms, impaired sleep quality, higher substance use, poor healthcare, food insecurity and respiratory, cardiovascular, or oral illness. In addition, many of the findings demonstrate that SSS might be a better indicator of social status for relations between SSS and health persist after controlling of Objective Social Status (OSS) (missed the detailed reference here 2000; Demakakos et al. 2008; Ghaed & Gallo 2007; Ostrove et al. 2000; Singh-Manoux et al. 2005; Wright & Steptoe 2005). Furthermore, social comparisons with people in the immediate social setting, such as community and workplace, may exert more enormous impact on one's self-perception than more abstract comparisons with individuals in the whole country (Cundiff et al. 2013; Euteneuer et al. 2012; Ghaed & Gallo 2007).

Even though all researches and evidence indicate that SSS inevitably affects the self-rated health of individuals or groups, the evidence is lacking for the Chinese who amount to about one-fifth of the world population. This paper is then aimed to fill this knowledge gap to add further researches and evidence on whether this conclusion can be drawn to Chinese residents, and whether the influence of SSS on self-rated health is affected by other factors. In consequence, the purpose of this paper is to: a) assess the extent to which OSS and SSS explain differences in self-rated health in China; b) examine whether there are interactions in the correlations between SSS and perceived health.

2   Data and Methods

2.1   Data

Data used in this research are from the Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS) in 2010. By multi-stage stratified probability sampling design and residents of the geographic mapping sampling, CGSS 2010 samples 480 residents' communities/villages and covers all the provinces/autonomous regions/municipalities on the mainland, which is similar to the General Social Survey in the United States (adding a reference to the US survey). The 2010 data wave is the most recent one involving comprehensive questions about an individual's socioeconomic status and health status, including a total of 11,785 respondents. So CGSS 2010 is an ideal data source for our research objectives.

However, not all the cases are used in this study for only a part of the respondents are further sampled to answer the health module, and the inevitable missing data resulted in the final sample size of 3,786.

2.2   Variable definition

2.2.1   Dependent variable: ill score

self-rated health	Freq.	Percent (%)	Ill score
Very unhealthy	150	3.96	8.13
Unhealthy	539	14.24	3.43
Neutral	906	23.93	1.69

续表

self-rated health	Freq.	Percent（%）	Ill score
Healthy	1, 251	33. 04	0. 81
Very healthy	940	24. 83	0. 32
Total	3, 786	100. 00	

Table 1: Ill score assignment

Based on the various advantages of self-rated health in the literature review, ill score, which is the index conversion of self-rated health, is used as the measure of individuals' health status. self-rated health is a five-level variable coded as 1 = "very unhealthy", 2 = "unhealthy", 3 = "neutral", 4 = "healthy", and 5 = "very healthy". According to the index conversion method stated by Wagstaff et al. (1994), a continuous ill score is calculated (Table 1) where a higher ill score indicates poorer health status.

2.2.2 Key independent variable: Subjective Social Status

There are two Subjective Social Status variables. One is "Subjective Family Economic Status in local (SFES)" which is coded as 1 = "Much lower than average level"; 2 = "Lower than average level"; 3 = "Average level"; 4 = "Higher than average level"; 5 = "Much higher than average level", and the other is "Subjective Social Class (SSC)" which is coded as 10 levels with 1 = "At the bottom of the society", and 10 = "At the top of the society".

2.2.3 Control variables

Demographic variables are gender (1 = "male"; 0 = "female"), age (17−96), and region (1 = "city"; 0 = "rural area"). Age square is not considered because there is no inverted u−shaped curve relationship found in this research. Considering the obvious differences in the social welfare and security between the urban population and rural population due to urban−rural dualism in China affecting health status, the region is adopted as a control variable.

Objective Social Status variables include "education year" and "household annual income". Numerous studies have shown that education and income affect health status and both of them are important indices of social−economic status, so they are considered to be control variables. We would like to emphasize that there are two main reasons for using household annual income instead of personal income to measure income. One is that too many personal income values are missing, and the other is that the diet and lifestyle of a family would affect family members' nutrition and health status. Furthermore, in a Chinese family, once a family member is ill, other family members would take out all money to help him out, so not just rely on his wealth.

Health relative variables are "Exercise frequency" (1 = "Never"; 2 = "Several times or less a year"; 3 = "Several times a month"; 4 = "Several times a week"; 5 = "Everyday"), "Smoking frequency" (the code was the same as Exercise frequency), "Drinking frequency" (the code was the same as Exercise frequency) and "chronic disease" (1 = "yes"; 0 = "no").

Descriptive statistics for all variables, such as their means and standard deviations, are summarized in Table 2.

Type	Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min/Freq.	Max/Percent
Independent variable	Ill score	1.562392	1.66844	0.3149	8.1319
Demographic variable	Male	0.4857369	0.4998625	0	1
	Age	47.1701	15.60267	17	96
	Region	0.5982567	0.4903153	0	1
Objective social status variable	Education year	8.695457	4.590147	0	19
	Ln(household annual income)	10.73677	2.322799	0	16.1181
Health relative variable	Exercise frequency	2.311675	1.588451	1	5
	Never			1,994	52.67
	Several times or less a year			367	9.69
	Several times amonth			302	7.98
	Several times a week			497	13.13
	Everyday			626	16.53
	Smoking	2.174326	1.789958	1	5
	Never			2,623	69.28
	Severaltimes or less a year			22	0.58
	Several times a month			25	0.66
	Several times a week			90	2.38
	Everyday			1,026	27.10
	Drinking	1.919704	1.3595	1	5
	Never			2,346	61.97
	Several times or less a year			381	10.06
	Several times a month			409	10.80
	Several times a week			317	8.37
	Everyday			333	8.80
	Chronic	0.3483888	0.4765228	0	1
Subjective Social Status variable	Subjective Family Economic Status in local (SFES)	2.619387	0.771099	1	5
	Much lower than average level			292	7.71
	Lower thanaverage level			1,230	32.49
	Average level			1,905	50.32
	Higher than average level			345	9.11
	Much higher than average level			14	0.37
	Subjective Social Class (SSC)	4.048072	1.670733	1	10
	Bottom level			350	9.24
				2380	10.04
	3			606	16.01
	4			717	18.94
	5			1,179	31.14
	6			363	9.59
	7			110	2.91
	8			57	1.51
	9			9	0.24
	Toplevel			15	0.40

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of covariates (without weighting, n= 3,786)

2. 3 Statistical methods

Advanced statistical modeling using nested multiple robust regression model and interaction analysis is used to assess the relationship between SSS and health status. Robust regression is adopted to deal with the high-level heteroscedasticity in the primary regression model because the significant value of the White Test was less than 0. 05. Besides, the robust regression model is weighted due to urban residents are more likely to be sampled during the design of the sampling frame.

3 Results

3. 1 Descriptive analysis

Table 1 shows that over half of the respondents rated themselves as healthy (33. 04%) or very healthy (24. 83%), 23. 93 percent of them kept neutral, 14. 24 percent of them rated themselves as unhealthy, and only 3. 96 percent rated themselves as very unhealthy. According to the frequency distribution of self-rated health, the maximum value of an ill score is 8. 13, the minimum is 0. 31, and the average value of an ill score is 1. 56 (Table 2).

As seen in Table 2, 48. 57% of the respondents are male, the average age of them is 47. 17, their average education year is close to 8. 70 years as well as 59. 83% of them are urban residents. As for health relative variables, both exercise and smoking frequency show a polarization pattern. More than 50% of the respondents have never exercised, in contrast, almost 30% of them exercise several times a week or every day. There is a similar pattern in smoking frequency, with non-smokers and everyday smokers taking the percentage of 69. 28% and 27. 10%, respectively. Most of the respondents (61. 97%) have never consumed alcohol while 8. 80% of them drink every day. Nearly one-third of the respondents (34. 84%) have chronic diseases. When it comes to Subjective Social Status variables, both SFES and SSC are a positively skewed distribution. Over 50% of the respondents consider their SFES as an average level while the percentages of much lower than average level and much higher than average level are 7. 71% and 0. 37%, respectively. For SSC, analogously, most respondents (31. 14%) rate themselves in the fifth level while the percentages of respondents in the bottom level and the top-level were 9. 24% and 0. 04%, respectively.

3. 2 The impact of control variables

Control variables include demographic variables, Objective Social Status variables, and health relative variables. Subjective Social Status variables and interaction variables are successively included in the model. Table 3 shows that all of the p-values associated with the F test are less than 0. 001. Besides, the inclusion of new variables increases the adjusted R-square of the model, which indicates that the inclusion of new variables has improved the explanatory power of each model. There are only demographic variables, including gender, age, and region, in Model 1. All of them had a significant effect on the ill score. In the case of controlling other variables, men (b=-0. 289, p<0. 001) has lower ill score or are more healthy than women, and city residents (b=-0. 287, p<0. 001) have lower ill score or are more healthy than rural residents. Besides, ill score increases

with the rise of age (b=0. 032, p<0. 001).

　　With education year and household annual income controlled (the natural logarithm) in Model 2, the region variable is no longer significant. Both education year (b=−0. 043, p<0. 001) and household annual income (b=−0. 045, p<0. 05) have significantly negative relation with the ill score. It demonstrates that individuals who have received more education or own more household annual income are more healthy than those who has not.

　　In Model 3, four health relative variables are controlled. All health relative variables, except smoking frequencies, significantly affect the ill score. However, in this model, gender is no longer significant, either. Both exercise frequency (b=−0. 062, p<0. 001) and drinking frequency (b=−0. 124, p<0. 001) are negatively correlated with the ill score. That is to say, frequent exercise or drinking lead to high self-rated health, while responders who have chronic diseases are inclined to report poorer health or higher ill score (b = 1. 480, p< 0. 001).

3. 3　*The impact of subjective socioeconomic status*

　　Subjective socioeconomic status, SFES, and SSC are included in Model 4. The significant correlation in Model 3 persists, except for household annual income, but the coefficients of age, education years, exercise frequency, drinking frequency, and chronic disease are reduced to varying degrees. It demonstrates that subjective socioeconomic status variables can explain the influence of those variables to some extent. Both SFES (b=−0. 272, p<0. 001) and SSC (b=−0. 081 , p<0. 001) have significantly negative correlation with ill score. In other words, both of them are positively correlated with health status where higher subjective socioeconomic status implies a lower ill score or better self-rated health status.

3. 4　*The impact of interaction variables*

　　Interaction variables are constructed to explore whether the influence of Subjective Social Status on self-rated health is affected by age, education year, exercise frequency, drinking frequency, or chronic disease. Results of these analyses appear in Models 5 to 14 and Figures 1 to 5. The interaction of Subjective Social Class (SSC) and variables above is not shown by graphing because it is similar to the interaction of Subjective Family Economic Status (SFES) and variables above. Meanwhile, SSC is divided into 10 levels making it too complicated to recognize the correlation between variables.

　　From Model 5, it is clear that the interaction of age and SFES is negatively correlated with the ill score at the 0. 05 significance level (b=−0. 005, p<0. 05). This indicates that once SFES enhances a level, the influence of one−year−old growth on ill score will decrease by 0. 05 units. In other words, aging has a more apparent effect on the health status of lower SFES groups. Figure 1 shows this trend obviously that the lines of lower SFES groups are steeper than higher ones.

　　Model 7 and Figure 2 suggest that lower SFES groups tend to be in poorer health than higher ones until college education, but they have received higher health returns to their educational attainment than higher ones (b =0. 025, p<0. 01). Exercise frequency and SFES do not have a significant interaction effect on the ill score. In Model 11, the interaction of drinking frequency and SFES is positively correlated with the ill score at the 0. 001 significance level (b=0. 091, p<0. 001).

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Male	−0.289***	−0.224***	0.012	−0.028	−0.023	−0.027
	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.073)	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.070)
Age	0.032***	0.027***	0.011***	0.013***	0.030***	0.027***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.006)	(0.008)
City	−0.287***	−0.097	−0.052	−0.077	−0.074	−0.079
	(0.059)	(0.066)	(0.059)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
Education year		−0.043***	−0.026***	−0.015*	−0.015*	−0.015*
		(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Ln(household annual income)		−0.045***	−0.022*	0.000	0.001	0.001
		(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Exercise frequency			−0.062***	−0.047**	−0.047**	−0.048**
			(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Smoking frequency			0.013	0.007	0.007	0.007
			(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Drinking frequency			−0.124***	−0.105***	−0.104***	−0.105***
			(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Chronic disease			1.480***	1.395***	1.393***	1.394***
			(0.073)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)
SFES				−0.272***	−0.262***	−0.012
				(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.118)
SSC				−0.081***	0.113*	−0.079***
				(0.018)	(0.053)	(0.018)
Age * SFES					−0.005*	
					(0.003)	
Age * SSC						−0.004***
						(0.001)
Education year * SFES						
Education year * SSC						
Exercises frequency * SFES						
Exercise frequency * SSC						
Drinking frequency * SFES						
Drinking frequency * SSC						
Chronic disease * SFES						
Chronic disease * SSC						
_cons	0.368***	1.327***	1.355***	2.006***	1.161***	1.295***
	(0.098)	(0.193)	(0.171)	(0.189)	(0.296)	(0.383)
N	3786	3786	3786	3786	3786	3786
Adjusted R^2	0.103	0.117	0.279	0.307	0.309	0.311

Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14
−0.025	−0.032	−0.030	−0.029	−0.030	−0.031	−0.035	−0.033
(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.070)
0.013***	0.013***	0.013***	0.013***	0.013***	0.013***	0.013***	0.013***
(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
−0.081	−0.075	−0.082	−0.079	−0.075	−0.076	−0.070	−0.067
(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
−0.081**	−0.065**	−0.015*	−0.015*	−0.014*	−0.015*	−0.015*	−0.015*
(0.026)	(0.020)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000	−0.000	−0.000	0.001	0.001
(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
−0.047**	−0.047**	−0.157*	−0.112*	−0.048**	−0.048**	−0.046**	−0.046**
(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.074)	(0.051)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
0.009	0.010	0.007	0.008	0.007	0.008	0.009	0.010
(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)
−0.106***	−0.105***	−0.106***	−0.106***	−0.349***	−0.208***	−0.104***	−0.104***
(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.065)	(0.053)	(0.021)	(0.021)
1.391***	1.388***	1.392***	1.392***	1.390***	1.393***	2.722***	2.175***
(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.252)	(0.196)
−0.483***	−0.267***	−0.364***	−0.269***	−0.454***	−0.272***	−0.080*	−0.260***
(0.091)	(0.041)	(0.069)	(0.041)	(0.070)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.041)
−0.078***	−0.180***	−0.080***	−0.116***	−0.078***	−0.128***	−0.076***	−0.011
(0.018)	(0.045)	(0.018)	(0.034)	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.018)	(0.017)
0.025**							
(0.009)							
	0.012**						
	(0.004)						
		0.041					
		(0.025)					
			0.016				
			(0.011)				
				0.091***			
				(0.022)			
					0.025*		
					(0.011)		
						−0.520***	
						(0.090)	
							−0.199***
							(0.042)
2.531***	2.378***	2.240***	2.138***	2.482***	2.200***	1.428***	1.645***
(0.298)	(0.248)	(0.251)	(0.222)	(0.249)	(0.222)	(0.171)	(0.174)
3786	3786	3786	3786	3786	3786	3786	3786
0.310	0.310	0.308	0.308	0.311	0.308	0.320	0.316

Table 3: Robust regression results of control variables, SSS and interaction variables
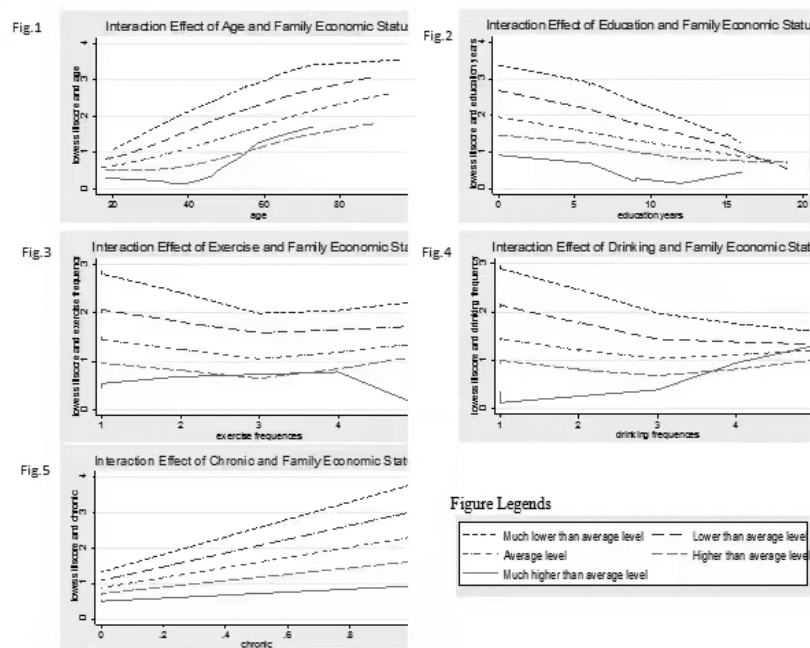
Figures: The interaction of Subjective Family Economic Status(SFES)and variables

According to Figure 4, it is obvious that the ill score of people whose SFES are much higher than average level augment with the frequency of drink. The ill score of other people, nevertheless, has a slight fall until they drink several times a month. That is to say, drinking several times a month is good for the health of most people apart from people whose SFES are much higher than average level.

Model 13 and Figure 5 demonstrate that there exists an interaction between chronic disease and SFES, which has a significant negative correlation with the ill score at the 0.001 significance level (b=−0.520, p<0.001). Once they have a chronic disease, the health of lower SFES groups would suffer more deterioration than higher ones.

4　Findings and Discussion

Drawing on nationally representative data from the Chinese General Social Survey 2010, this research examines the correlation between Subjective Social Status and self-rated health in China using an advanced statistical nested multiple robust regression model and interaction analysis. The measurement of health status references the methods of Wagstaff et al. (1994) who put forward to calculate the continuous ill score by standard logarithmic normal distribution index conversion of self-rated health. It is a new attempt of this method applied to the study of the relationship between Subjective Social Status (SSS) and health. In addition, this paper analyzes the impact of SSS on health not only on the whole but also the differences between age, education year, exercise frequency, drinking frequency, and chronic disease, which will provide important empirical research resources for the national health−related policies in China. Indicators of the F test, multi−collinearity test, and D.W test suggest that the estimation of these models is robust and effective. Through the scientific quantitative analysis, the results of the empirical analysis can demonstrate the effects of Subjective Social Status on Chinese

residents' health status. The findings can be summarized as follows.

First, lower Subjective Social Status (SSS), which is measured by "Subjective Family Economic Status in local (SFES)" and "Subjective Social Class (SSC)", is associated with poor health status measured by ill score. Furthermore, the results show that subjective socioeconomic status variables reduce the coefficients of some variables to varying degrees demonstrating that Subjective Social Status is a better or more comprehensive predictor of health status. The research confirms the conclusion of Cundiff et al. (2013) that SSS might be a better indicator of social status for relations between SSS and health persist after controlling for Objective Social Status (OSS) applied to China. Second, age has a more apparent effect on the health status of lower SSS groups. Third, lower SSS groups have received higher health returns to their educational attainment than higher ones though they tend to be in poorer health than higher ones. Fourth, once they have a chronic disease, the health of lower SFES groups will suffer more deterioration than higher ones.

As evidence-based decision-making or rising social differentiation in Chinese society, social stratification theory is significantly applicable and has important theoretical and practical value. The results of this study are also worth thinking further that in the process of promoting the national health level, the government should pay more attention to social stratification, in particular, the role of Subjective Social Status, and guarantee the health of the residents from different social classes through various policy. In addition, data from a cross-sectional survey in China might not represent the entire socioeconomic spectrum in other countries, and future research should extend prospective research on SSS and health considering dynamic aspects of SSS, and this research is part of the endeavor to add evidence from China.

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[Studies in Literature]

Female Images from the Perspective of Ecological Feminism:

Taking O-lan in Pearl S. Buck's *The Good Earth* as an Example

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Abstract: Eco−feminism, as the product of the combination of ecology and feminism, inherits and develops ecological thought and feminist thought in theory. Based on the relevant theories of eco−feminism, this paper analyzes the female images of O-lan in Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth*. From the perspective of the ecological environment, it mainly exposes the dual oppression of nature and women under the shackles of feudal patriarchy and feudal ideology. It aims to build the proper role and status of women in nature and society, to give the new women enlightenment to strive for a better world in which men and women coexist in harmony under the new social environment by improving the ecological environment.

Keywords: O-lan; ecological feminism; female image; enlightenment

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1   Introduction

The foreign country with researchers who conduct most of the academic researches on Pearl Buck is the United States. Experts and scholars in the United States focus on the arrangement of Pearl Buck's life and biography. Among them, there are three most important biographies about Pearl Buck. The first one is named *The Exile's Daughter: A Biography of Pearl S. Buck*, which is written by Cornelia Spencer in 1944. The second one is *Pearl S. Buck: A Biography* written by Paul A. Doyle in 1968. The third one is *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* by Peter Conn in 1997. These three writers' biographical account of Pearl Buck's life has contributed to a certain degree of understanding of this neglected female writer.

Domestic researches on Pearl Buck are mostly the analysis of texts, focusing on the ideological content of Pearl Buck's works. With the diversified development of literary criticism perspectives, Chinese scholars began to interpret Pearl Buck's literary works from a new cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspective. Although there are domestic scholars who have analyzed Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* from the perspective of eco-feminism, most of them write in Chinese, and they are relatively lacking in the in-depth analysis of the character of the heroine, O-lan (Yang 2012: 46). Pearl Buck, as an important writer of cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, studied her work *The Good Earth* with the relevant theories of eco-feminism and introduced the current Chinese researches on Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* in English, which is conducive to promoting cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries.

Therefore, based on the relevant theories ofeco-feminism, the second part of this paper will mainly analyze the female image of O-lan from different aspects (Yang 2012: 47). In addition, the third part will explain the formation of O-lan's characteristics from the perspective of the ecological environment. It mainly exposes the dual oppression of nature and women under the shackles of feudal patriarchy and feudal ideology. Compared with the former researches, this paper aims to build the proper role and status of women in nature and society to inspire new women to strive for a better world in which men and women coexist in harmony under the new social environment by improving the ecological environment.

2　O-lan's Connection with Eco-feminism

As the combination of ecology and feminism, eco-feminism inherits and promotes ecological thought and feminist thought in theory. In practice, eco-feminism researchers, from the perspective of the ecological environment, have completely and thoroughly revealed the oppression of women and the destruction of nature under the capitalist system (Wang 2019). Some eco-feminists suggest that examining the environment from a female perspective is conducive to promoting the emancipation of women and solving ecological crises. Thus, using the theoretical viewpoints related to eco-feminism, this part will analyze the relationship between O-lan and eco-feminism.

2.1　Strong will for facing her early hardships

At the beginning of the 20th century, China's rural areas were exceedingly backward, because they were still deeply influenced by the old feudal social thought (Ma 2003: 253). Moreover, in that turbulent social environment, many low-income families were often forced to sell their children for some money to support their families. O-lan, as a child who lived in the early 20th century, suffered from hunger and cold like many contemporary Chinese girls. She chose to live with a strong will.

2.1.1　Enduring her miserable childhood strongly

O-lan's childhood was unfortunate. When O-lan was a child, her father sold her to abig family as a maid. This big family, surnamed Hwang, was a big landlord family in ancient China. Influenced by Confucian traditional thoughts, China had a strict concept of the hierarchical difference in ancient society. As the person with the lowest status in the hierarchy, O-lan was bound to be strongly oppressed by the upper class. Since O-lan was sold to the Hwang as a servant girl, she had been humiliated and abused by the Hwang every day.

Moreover, she got up early and worked hard every day to accomplish the tasks that a servant should complete. Otherwise, she would be severely punished. O-lan was often humiliated and oppressed by other maids because of her ugly appearance. In the long run, O-lan became silent.

2.1.2 Leading a tough maid life with a strong will

To survive safely in the great House of Hwang, O-lan had to keep obedient, submissive, and silent. It was also in such a poor living condition that O-lan developed a strong will. She had not become cynical and pessimistic because of these poor conditions, and she had not lost a woman's daily spiritual appearance. Her appearance was still clean and tidy.

In the novel, when Wang Lung proposed to the great House of Hwang, the author madea characterization of O-lan's presentation. "It was a good enough voice, not loud, not soft, plain, and not ill−tempered. The woman's hair was neat and smooth and her coat clean" (Buck 2005: 18). It's not hard to see through the details of these character descriptions that only a woman with a strong will can maintain such a clean and neat mental outlook. The material determines consciousness, and consciousness reacts to matter so deeply. These details fully reflect O-lan's tenacious will. In addition, her strong will has become the spiritual pillar of her difficult life in the future.

2.1.3 Strong will to withstand the famine

O-lan helped the whole family through the famine with her strong will. She had never flinched from the harsh famine. When she found out that they had no food in the house. O-lan said to her husband, "I and the children can beg and the old man also. His grey hairs will move some who will not give to me" (Buck 2005: 106). We can learn from that it was O-lan's strong will that enabled their whole family to survive during the famine.

Compared with O-lan's strong will, her husband was exceedingly incompetent. "'You must have begged off a foreigner this day,' he said to O-lan. But she, according to her habit, said nothing" (Buck 2005: 118). Thus, Wang Lung was a very cowardly person. In a word, it would be difficult for them to survive during the famine without O-lan's strong will.

2.2 Diligent image in her daily life

As Li Yinhe said in the book *Feminism*, from the perspective of social−ecological feminism, women were close to nature through the social roles they had fulfilled for a long time. In addition, the various characteristics and ethics of women were constructed by society, such as pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, and housework. O-lan was also in close contact with nature through the so−called social role.

2.2.1 Being a common woman

As an ordinary servant of the great House of Hwang, O-lanwas a normal girl, not so pretty. On the contrary, her appearance was not only simply mediocre but also badly ugly. In the first chapter of *The Good Earth*, it was mentioned that Wang Lung was intensely disappointed the first time he saw O-lan. The reason why he felt depressed was that O-lan was not as beautiful as he imagined.

Also, he felt so dissatisfied, because O-lan's feet were not verybound. When the Old Mistress of the great House of Hwang saw his disappointment, she told him that O-lan was a virgin although she was not beautiful. She was not only extraordinarily diligent and capable, especially in housework and farm work, but also had a

good temper. One of the most vital points was that O-lan could "bear sons and yet more sons" (Buck 2005: 19). Only when he heard these words did he feel happy.

2.2.2 Diligent in her married life

Indeed, when O-lan married Wang Lung, she was exceedinglydiligent and competent. All day she either did housework at home or went to the fields with her husband. Even so, Wang Lung and his father did not regard O-lan as one of the family members. However, O-lan was a strong woman, and this kind of strong will had been trained as early as when she was a servant of the great House of Hwang. Although in such a situation without family status, she showed her great diligence and competence. Although Wang Lung was the backbone of his family, he did many things imperfectly. But after getting married, O-lan not only kept her house in order but also helped Wang Lung do farm work every day. O-lan was more diligent and careful than Wang Lung. Even if she was pregnant, she still worked in the fields with her husband.

On theday she gave birth to her son, she insisted on cooking dinner for her family. When she gave birth, she preferred to suffer the pain of having a child herself rather than seek help from her husband and neighbors. After having a son, she still worked hard in the fields with her husband to support the whole family, and she could not ignore slow. This was not what any woman could stand. All in all, these matters are enough to reflect O-lan's tenacity and diligence.

2.2.3 Supporting the family diligently duringthe famine

When the famine came, Wang Lung behaved helplessly, but O-lan acted calmly and suggested killing the cattle in their family. As a woman, instead of being helpless, she was the first personwho "took a great iron knife she had in the kitchen and cut a great gash in the beast's neck" (Buck 2005: 76). It was because of her diligence and competence that the whole family could survive during the famine.

O-lan's diligence and expertisewere reflected in another aspect. When they lived in Nanjing, Wang Lung did not know how to build a shack. At the critical moment, O-lan relied on her childhood memory to construct the whole shed successfully and to give the entire family a place to live. O-lan's diligence and bravery at critical moments and her adaptability made her an essential pillar of the whole family. Her role in the entire family was beyond Wang Lung's.

2.3 Clever quality for suffering changes in her family

O-lan's connection with naturewas mainly reflected in her connection with the land (Yang 2012: 46). With her ingenuity, she helped her husband buy land. She was also like the earth, playing the role of a mother, and helping her husband to support the whole family during the famine. In addition, she also assisted her husband to protect the land so as not to be looted by others.

2.3.1 Helping herto husband get rich

O-lan was smarter than her husband because she knew how to cope with difficulties in their life. O-lan was not only good at housework, but also better at farm work than Wang Lung. To support the family's life, she became more and more calm and brave. She made many wise decisions with her bright mind and extraordinary wisdom. She assisted her husband, and enabled the whole family to ride through many hardships in life smoothly. She also let the entire family live a better life gradually.

When O-lan went to the great House of Hwang with her first child and her husband Wang Lung, the smart

and wittygirl inferred from the details that the great House of Hwang was not as luxurious as in the past, and one day they would sell their land to support their family. When they returned home, O-lan told her husband and gave him a detailed analysis of the great House of Hwang. At the same time, she advised her husband to seize the opportunity. She kept urging Wang Lung "to buy the good land of the great House of Hwang at a low price" (Buck 2005: 53). In this fashion, Wang Lung changed from a poor peasant who had nothing at the beginning to a rich man who owned a lot of land. Consequently, they broke through the poverty barrier, and it was O-lan who did it.

2.3.2 Showing her clever quality in the famine

As the famine worsened, the entire family was forced to go to southern China to seek a livelihood. In a broke situation, O-lan showed a lower profile firstly and took her children to beg on the streets, which enabled the family to survive during the famine. It is not difficult to see that O-lan is a woman with a long-term vision. Moreover, compared with Wang Lung, O-lan's ability to assess the difficult situation in life was highly laudable. Besides, it was commendable that O-lan put her pride in her pocket rather than gave in to difficulties.

Subsequently, "Wang Lung made a fortune accidentally in the process of escaping famine" (Buck 2005: 146). O-lan had made a sage decision that she suggested that her husband should make good use of the sum of money and go back to their hometown to buy a lot of quality land. Wang Lung naturally took his wife's advice. In this way, all of them returned to their original hometown and acquired a lot of land, which made the whole family's life better all of a sudden.

2.3.3 Protecting the land cleverly

However, after Wang Lung's insatiable uncle learned that Wang Lung owned a lot of the fine land, he offered to buy a part of Wang Lung's land. Hearing these words, Wang Lung was furious and lost his calm composure. In this case, O-lan's attitude even her performance contrasted sharply with Wang Lung's. She firmly told Wang Lung's uncle, "The land we will not sell, surely" (Buck 2005: 92).

Although shewas only an unknown woman, she had more courage and intelligence than Wang Lung. This laid a solid foundation for Wang Lung to become rich in the future. To conclude, it was O-lan's clever quality that enabled her to protect their land. We can learn that O-lan was cleverer than her husband.

3 Analysis of the Causes of O-lan's Characteristics

Wang Huan pointed out in the book *Research on Eco-feminism*, "Eco-feminism discovered that the problem was in the patriarchy in the early stage of its development, and it was also truly realized that women in society were constructed as the existence of gender" (Wang 2013: 43). O-lan was a typical woman under the oppression of patriarchy. At the same time, the traditional feudal thought of "men are superior to women" also shaped O-lan's traditional rural female image. In addition, influenced by western progressive feminism, O-lan had advanced eco-feminist thoughts that resisted the patriarchy (Yang 2012: 46).

3.1 High oppression of patriarchy in old China

The high oppression of patriarchy on O-lanwas profound, which was mainly reflected in two aspects: the restriction of patriarchy on O-lan's thought; patriarchy's shape of O-lan's strong will. The relationship between

man and nature also reflected the relationship between man and man to some extent. Since the emergence of ecofeminist theory in the 1970s, it has followed the theoretical premise of combining traditional feminist theory and ecological theory. It emphasized the use of a diverse perspective to criticize the worldview under patriarchy (Zhang 2021: 97).

3.1.1 The restriction of patriarchy on O-lan's thought

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, "patriarchy" means "a social system in which men have all the power" or "a social system in which the oldest man rules his family and passes power and possessions on to his sons" ("Patriarchy" def. 1843). Thus, in Chinese feudal society, men had the supreme social and family status. On the contrary, women could only obey men unconditionally. Under the influence of Chinese feudal thought, women had strong ideological consciousness of "three obedience and four virtues" and "men are superior to women" (Zhang 2013: 51). Thus, women couldn't choose by themselves and put forward their own opinions. They must be obedient and tolerant, and always obey men's arrangements. At the crucial moment, the interests of women should be subordinated to those of men. Women had no complaints about that, and they even took it for granted that they accept their low status and destiny.

Because women in feudal society had no independent personality and economic domination, they could only rely on the men around them to survive. Although the men around them do not treat themselves well, they should bear the humiliation and obey fate unconditionally (Dlnya 2014: 27). Under the forceful repression of patriarchy, a woman's duty was to take sons to carry on the family line. Besides, the social environment and the fetters of feudal doctrine also made the life outcome of women in feudal society miserable. Even if they were willing to resist the restraint and suppression of patriarchy, their strength didn't match their ambitions. Ultimately, they could only control themselves and suppress their anger. Gradually, they became victims and maintainers of feudal patriarchy (Dlnya 2014: 28).

In *The Good Earth*, Pearl Buck expressed her sympathy for O-lan, and at the same time, she showed that O-lan was an ignorant rural woman. When O-lan was sold to the great House of Hwang as a servant by her parents in her childhood, she did not resist but obeyed her father's hard decision. After entering the great House of Hwang, she suffered the humiliation and abuse of the host. From this, we could see that O-lan was a woman deeply influenced by patriarchy and unable to resist. However, her bitter experience had turned her into a stronger person. She was bearing up well against all her misfortunes.

3.1.2 Patriarchy having shaped O-lan's strong will

In ancient Chinese feudal society, women took foot-binding as their beauty. However, O-lan was not only ugly but also did not bind her feet (Li 2009: 118). In this regard, Wang Lung was very disgusted from the beginning. In the first chapter of the novel, when Wang Lung went to the great House of Hwang to propose, he saw O-lan without foot-binding and expressed his disappointment. O-lan realized that Wang Lung always took this to his heart. Therefore, she painfully bound her daughter's feet later, although she knew that it was a badly damaging thing to her physical and mental health. Thus, O-lan sacrificed her daughter's physical and psychological health to obtain her husband's satisfaction. At the same time, the forced foot-binding of daughters also showed that in feudal society, daughters must unconditionally obey their fathers.

During the famine, O-lan offered to sell her daughter in exchange for some money to help Wang Lung return to their hometown to buy land. This incident also showed that in Chinese feudal society, women had a

pessimistic sense that the "husband's interests are above everything else." As a result, they had a negative idea of "putting men above women." They think sons were the most valuable, while daughters were of no worth. Although this thought did not benefit O-lan much, in the novel, she eventually did not receive respect and pity from her husband and sons, so she ultimately died with hatred on the day of her eldest son's marriage.

O-lan's life was quite tragic because she was deeply influenced by the negative influence of patriarchy and was forced to become amaintainer of patriarchy. Her experience showed that she was also a victim of patriarchy. Under the oppression of patriarchy, they had no fame or wealth, and could only accept men's arrangements in silence. However, it was the great repression of patriarchy in the feudal society that enabled O-lan to develop a strong will, which supported her to survive in this cruel old society for a lifetime.

3.2　The restriction of Chinese traditional ideas

In ancient China, the appearance of a woman was not important. A woman's duty was to work and bear sons to carry on the family line (Chang & Chang 2009: 91). This was under the impact of the fertility concept on women, including O-lan. Besides, the view of marriage gave O-lan a durable endurance, which enabled her to endure her husband's infidelity. These two aspects will be analyzed below.

3.2.1　The impact ofthe fertility concept on making O-lan diligent

From the view of historical development, China's concept of marriage can be mainly divided into two types: "reproductive type" and "love type" (Zhang 2013: 50). In feudal society, most of the Chinese people's views on marriage belonged to the reproductive type. It was believed that the primary purpose of marriage was to carry on the family line. And love was secondary. In the Chinese feudal doctrine, it pointed out that "having no male heir is the gravest of the three cardinal offenses against filial piety." Accordingly, in the old society, the discrimination that men were superior to women was still dominating many people's minds. The more cruel reality was that women became tools to bear sons. Their social and family status was the lowest in the feudal hierarchy.

According to *The Characteristics and Impact of Chinese Traditional Marriage View*, "the essence of marriage in feudal society lies in the continuation of the clan" (Zhang 2013: 50). Marriage was utilitarian, and this kind of utilitarianism was mainly to safeguard the interests of people's families. The purpose of having a son was to increase the family's labor force. Besides, sacrificing ancestors and continuing descendants had become the primary task of both husband and wife. Accordingly, compared with the concept of reproductive marriage, the idea of love marriage seemed insignificant. Under the yoke of this decadent marriage, women could only obey men and fate forever.

In chapter four of *The Good Earth*, it was mentioned that O-lan gave birth to Wang Lung's first son. Wang Lung was so excited that he went to the market to buy some sacrificial items. He turned into the candlemaker's shop abruptly and bought four sticks of incense. After that, he went into the small temple of the gods of the earth with his wife. We can learn from it that people in a feudal society were very superstitious, and Wang Lung is included. In the temple, "he watched the four sticks well lit and then went homeward. These two small, protective figures, sitting staidly under their small roof – what a power they had" (Buck 2005: 41). To put it in another way, Wang Lung owed the thing to give birth to a son to the gods of the earth but not his wife. Thus, the status of O-lan was negligible. But one thing worth affirming is that the hardship of childbearing made O-lan

more diligent. It was her diligence that enabled her to support such a big family.

3.2.2　The view of marriage giving O-lan a durable endurance

In the novel, O-lan slaughtered the cattle to feed the family during the famine. Wang Lung felt quite sad about this. He complained to O-lan, "We will eat a man next" (Buck 2005: 75). He reacted so because he thought the cattle was his excellent companion, and it had been working intensely hard. Hence, Wang Lung was reluctant to slaughter it. Compared with the cattle, O-lan's experience of her life looked sorrowful.

Nevertheless, she had never been loved by her husband. Thus, in Wang Lung's mind, his wife's status was far inferior to that of the cattle. Even her daughter could not escape her tragic fate. Affected by the idea of "men are more important than women," during the famine when her husband put forward the idea of selling their family belongings, O-lan gave a straight answer, "There is nothing to sell except the girl" (Buck 2005: 124). Her remark showed that in feudal marriage, the consciousness of male superiority and female inferiority was harmful to women's thoughts.

Despite Wang Lung's betrayal, O-lan still adhered to the principle of women and ran the whole family for herself. In O-lan's ideology, she thought it was normal for a man to have three wives and four concubines. Even though Wang Lung's concubines did not treat O-lan and her children kindly, she still stuck to her duty. She also regarded submitting to her husband as her responsibility. For the sake of her children and family, she chose to endure her husband's infidelity to herself. In conclusion, the traditional concept of marriage was badly harmful to O-lan. On the other hand, it also gave O-lan a durable endurance.

3.3　The impact of western progressive feminism

This part mainly shows the impact of western progressive feminism on O-lan. The impact is manifested in two aspects: the author endowed O-lan with progressive feminism; the progressive feminism highlighted O-lan's clever quality. These two aspects will be demonstrated below.

3.3.1　The author endowed O-lan with a progressive feminism

Since Pearl Buck is an American woman writer who has lived in China for more than 40 years, she has a profound understanding of Chinese society in the early 20th century (Yin 2018: 40). In most of her literary works, readers can feel strong traditional Chinese culture and customs. Moreover, her literary works are more about the status of women in the old society of China (Snow 1977: 28). *The Good Earth* is one of these literary works. In *The Good Earth*, Pearl Buck expressed her affirmation and sympathy for women in the old society of China by describing O-lan, a mournful female image. In a fashion, Buck often projected onto Asian women her desires for American women (Shaffer 2016: 26). In brief, Pearl Buck integrated her Western progressive feminist ideas into her literary works.

In *The Good Earth*, Pearl Buck endowed O-lan with an ideology of Western progressive feminism, which enabled O-lan to survive with great mental pressure in the poor living environment of the feudal society (Guo 2011: 91). Pearl Buck described O-lan as a passive enduring and obedient Chinese rural woman. At the same time, she also injected a resistance force into O-lan's life, so that O-lan could continuously strive for more survival rights and space for herself. In other words, Pearl Buck used O-lan's image to highlight her feminist ideas. Pearl Buck not only praised women's tenacious vitality and maternal greatness but also severely attacked the hegemony and patriarchy.

3.3.2 *The progressive feminism highlighting O-lan's clever quality*

Facing the oppression and humiliation of the host and other servants in the great House of Hwang, O-lan lost her right to express any personal opinions. However, such humiliation and oppression exercised her strong will and admirable wisdom. Besides, after she got married, she used her intelligence to help her husband to get rich. It can be said that the reason why Wang Lung could become a wealthy landlord was that his wife helped him to achieve it. Also, O-lan took the trouble to bear children for Wang Lung and support the whole family with her husband. These things reflected the brilliance of motherhood in feminism. According to Helens Noble's idea, Pearl Buck is a woman writer who writes for women and is full of motherhood when she writes about women's problems.

Furthermore, O-lanwas more sophisticated and braver than Wang Lung. In the process of escaping from famine, when someone broke into their house to rob them wantonly, O-lan summoned up courage and behaved calmly. She persuaded the thieves with quite powerful words, and the whole family saved their lives from danger. Facing Wang Lung's disloyalty and the humiliation of his concubines, O-lan showed her perseverance. A series of O-lan's actions showed that although she was suppressed by Chinese feudal society, she had the precious thought of Western feminism. This idea was not only progressive but also commendable and encouraging.

4   Conclusion

Pearl Buck pays close attention to women's social status all her life. As a feminist, she is intensely concerned about women's life experience and fate. In her decades of living in China, Buck deeply realized the great injustice brought to women by Chinese feudal society. She expressed her concern and sympathy for traditional women with her literary works and showed her feminist thoughts.

In her literary work *The Good Earth*, Pearl Buck proved her attitude and position through the image of O-lan. She supported the women's liberation movement by participating in various social activities. Moreover, she continually advocated that women strive for higher social status and more social rights for themselves. O-lan was a traditional Chinese rural woman with a feminist ideology. She was diligent, smart, brave, and had excellent endurance. However, O-lan received the brutality of feudal society. Hence, it was hard for her to break the traditional Chinese ties.

This article mainly analyzes O-lan's connection with ecological feminism and then explores the three main reasons for the character image of O-lan. What's more, the primary purpose of this paper is to encourage modern women to learnabout the shimmer of O-lan's soul. At the same time, we should support our modern women to try our best to win more choices and rights for ourselves and truly achieve equality between men and women in social life. Furthermore, it is critical to improving women's social status, so that they can play an important social role in the post－epidemic era. Moreover, it is also conducive to the governance of the ecological environment.

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(Editors: LI Ruobing & JIANG Qing)

Disease Experience and Material Imagination
in D. H. Lawrence's Novels

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Abstract: In the novels of the great English writer D. H. Lawrence, diseases do not exist as metaphors but as material and dynamic images. The traditional criticism of his novels from the perspective of "illness as metaphor" is not enough to highlight the power of Lawrence's images of disease. A combination of Gaston Bachelard's "material imagination" and Susan Sontag's "liberation from metaphor" provides a new perspective for this essay, which focuses on the "reality" of diseases in Lawrence's novels, his version of vitalism, and the relative bodily sympathy.

Keywords: disease; metaphor; material imagination; D. H. Lawrence

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1　Introduction

D. H. Lawrence (1815−1930) is not the only writer who died young of an incurable disease, and yet pulmonary tuberculosis that he suffered and died of did not bring forth a sudden death but a lingering one, which allowed him to develop feelings and attitudes about the disease differently. As David Ellis comments, the French novelist Stendhal who "collapsed in a Paris street and never recovered consciousness" may not have had the same feelings, and the lingering death "illustrates well the unfairness of illnesses, taking away easy physical well−being while at the same time loading the weakened frame with extra weights in the battle of life" (2008: 24). Lawrence fought illness fiercely while his feelings and attitudes were expressed through his writing. In his novels, illnesses are treated not only as metaphors to refer to the contemporary problems but as one of his basic ways of shaping his characters and expressing his ideas about the body, individuality, sympathy, and his imaginative vitalism.

2   Illness as More-than-Metaphor

It is quite normal that metaphors of disease and cure appear in literary works, and disease does appear in each of Lawrence's novels. Critics tend to agree that personal diseases were treated as metaphors by Lawrence to symbolize social and cultural maladies and that he used those metaphors to diagnose the corruption and unjustness of the English society and suggest cures. For example, the illness of the protagonist in *The Ladybird* (1922) is regarded as a metaphor for the social malady caused by the First World War: the frail body and lack of masculinity. In his controversial *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), Lawrence not only directly commented that "the care about money was like great cancer, eating away individuals of all classes" (1968: 153), but "paralyzed" Clifford and made him a victim of the social disease of war. The rhetoric function of metaphor makes it become a literary tool for Lawrence to express his reprehensive attitude towards war, mechanic civilization, and industrialization.

Diseases like tuberculosis (TB) and cancer can easily become metaphors in a certain language system, but like other illnesses, they could also be natural happenings to the characters in novels. According to the social and psychological context of Lawrence's writing, it is reasonable to divide illnesses in his novels into two kinds: physical and mental. Both are significant to Lawrence's characterization in the novels.

2.1   Bronchitis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and cancer

Several of Lawrence's protagonists got respiratory diseases like Bronchitis, pneumonia, and TB. The frequency of their appearance has been related by critics to the contemporary environment and also to the writer's own experience, which is reasonable. Some recent studies on disease in literary works, however, turn to be limited to the popular perspective of disease metaphors (the double influence of COVID-19 and Susan Sontag), and it seems that diseases themselves are invisible in the novels. Diseases in novels do not only function metaphorically. To a certain extent, diseases define who the characters are, affect their relationships with each other, and, due to the possibly coming death, can become events in their lives.

In Lawrence's autobiographical novel *Sons and Lovers* (1913), the hero Paul Morel was a delicate boy and "subject to bronchitis", which gave "another reason for his mother's difference in feeling for him" (1985: 66). Paul's brother William died of pneumonia caused by peculiar erysipelas, which hit the family hard, Mrs. Morel in particular: "Mrs. Morel could not be persuaded, after this, to talk and take her old bright interest in life" (1985: 139). Brooding on her dead son, she could not rouse herself. Paul's falling seriously ill (again catching pneumonia), however, saved her, and her life had "rooted itself in Paul" from then on:

> Paul was in bed for seven weeks. He got up white and fragile. His father had bought him a pot of scarlet and gold tulips. They used to flame in the window in the March sunshine as he sat on the sofa chattering to his mother. The two knitted together in perfect intimacy. Mrs. Morel's life now rooted itself in Paul. (1985: 140)

It was not the first time that Mr. Morel realized that his son did not need him, and this moment in their life was delicately described at the end of the first part of the novel. Illness to a degree helps to build or "knit" the

"perfect intimacy" between Paul and his mother. Similarly, the connection between Aaron and Lilly in *Aaron's Rod* (1922) was also strengthened through Lilly's attending to him when he was ill.

Later when the intimacy began to hinder Paul's self-development and his relationship with other women, the disease came again. This time it is Mrs. Morel herself who was attacked. She got cancer and died of it, leaving Paul alone in the world. Cancer here is less a metaphor that symbolizes Mrs. Morel's psychological illness than a bodily illness that did kill her in the end. The death of Mrs. Morel, however, can be the writer's way of providing a solution to the problems posed in the novel, because the confused hero needs to grow and become himself rather than a shadow of his mother. The ending differs from the typical Victorian reconciliation—as Raymond Williams once remarked, the typical modern novel "ends with the protagonist walking off on his own, having extricated himself from some problematic situation" (Qtd. in Eagleton 2012: 173). It is not one of the more fabular or mythological devices used by Victorian novelists, because death is not what Terry Eagleton called a convenient, sudden one. In *The Event of Literature* (2012), Eagleton pointed out: "when the narrative encounters problems to which no realist solution is on hand, however, it may choose to fall back on a more fabular or mythological device", for example, "the timely inheritance, the discovery of the long-lost relative, the convenient sudden death, the miraculous change of heart" (2012: 184). Moreover, the fact of death itself weighs less in *Sons and Lovers* than the process of Mrs. Morel's dying, her fighting, she will not die, and Paul's agony and struggle. In this sense, death is neither the solution to the problem of how to keep and develop the "self" nor the symbolization of reconciliation or rebirth.

Later in *Women in Love* (1920) and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), Lawrence loaded his protagonist (Birkin, Connie, and Mellors) with TB, and to a certain extent, it was used to express a sense of dissatisfaction with society. As Susan Sontag commented, it might have the metaphorical function to "suggest a profound disequilibrium between individual and society", and to "propose new, critical standards of individual health" (1977: 72-73), but TB in the novels is not a metaphor but a connection between individuals and helps them feel bodily rather than know consciously who they are. More will be discussed about this material aspect of the disease in the third part of this essay.

2.2 Delirium, neurasthenia, and war neurosis

Mental illnesses also appear in Lawrence's novels and play seminal roles. From the perspective of the disease metaphor, mental diseases as modern metaphors can better "suggest a profound disequilibrium between individual and society" (Sontag 1977: 73). However, if too much emphasis is put on the metaphorical or symbolic meaning that individuals' being mentally ill signifies the malady of the society, the suffering of those individuals may not be felt and experienced. Sympathy, then, is more difficult to be achieved. In other words, the power of diseases in Lawrence's novels to arouse sympathy lies not in their metaphoric meaning but in the description of experiencing them.

In his first novel *The White Peacock* (1911), for instance, the description of George's becoming a chronic alcoholic and getting delirium tremens at the end of the novel powerfully presents the existential state of an individual being. George was once "well proportioned, and naturally of handsome physique, heavily limbed" (Lawrence 1950: 257), but he was rather than metaphorically losing his vigor and vitality in the end. George did not die in the novel. Sudden death would relieve the hero of the chronic suffering, but it would deprive the

readers of experiencing their pain as well. Therefore, instead of symbolizing social problems, the disease experienced by the characters happened as an event in their life. In other words, disease works not so much as a metaphor than as an agent that has the power to act and influence the characters.

If George was both physically and mentally ill, with excessive drinking causing delirium tremens, what Siegmund in *The Trespasser* (1912) experienced is more psychological. According to the novel, the bodily pain of neurasthenia he suffered came in the wake of delirium, or they happened almost at the same time. In Chapter 27, when he came back home from a date with his lover Helena, he fell in a delirious state and began to fulfill his purpose of "cut[ting] himself off from life" (Lawrence 1981: 202). The whole process is both physical and psychological suffering. In the beginning, "he was conscious, and his brain was irritably active, but his body was a separate thing, a terrible, heavy, hot thing over which he had slight control". In the end, however, the suicide became "a mesmeric performance, in which the agent trembled with convulsive sickness" — Siegmund, "in a shaking, bewildered, disordered condition", could neither control his shuddering body, "nor could he call his mind to think" (Lawrence 1981: 204). Siegmund did not die of the disease, but the disease, which separated and dwarfed his body and mind, made him commit suicide.

Lawrence did not intend to make diseases in the first two novels metaphoric or symbolic, he did not do it on purpose in later novels either. Lawrence once reflected on the symbolism of Clifford's paralysis, that "when I began Lady C., of course, I did not know what I was doing – I did not deliberately work symbolically. But at the time the book was finished I realized what the unconscious symbolism was" (1979−2000: 477). Some critics argued that the illnesses of the characters in *The Rainbow* (1915) and *Women in Love* were closely related to the First World War. Carl Krockel, for example, pointed out that "from 1915 to the completion of *The First "Women in Love"* in mid−1916 Lawrence was both ignorant of the war, and psychologically one of its casualties" (2011: 66). Lawrence once identified his illness as a reaction to the war. In a letter, he wrote: "the state of Europe simply kills me – sends me into a frenzy after the frenzy of rage and misery, so I get ill" (Lawrence 1979−2000: 524). According to Krockel, in January 1916, Lawrence "suffered an almost fatal bout of influenza accompanied by physical paralysis", but he "denied the organic causes of the illness because of his long−term dread of contracting tuberculosis" (2011: 65). The diagnosis might be wrong in today's scientific view, but Lawrence did have symptoms similar to war neurosis, and he did experienced diseases, which enables him to express both bodily sensitiveness and psychological feelings in his novels. Those images of people suffering illnesses themselves are more powerful to arouse sympathetic feelings than the possible metaphoric meanings which are a little homiletic.

3　Disease, Material Imagination, and Lawrentian Vitalism

In her book *Illness as Metaphor* (1977), Susan Sontag comments that master diseases like TB and cancer "have been spectacularly, and similarly, encumbered by the trappings of metaphor", but the purpose of Sontag's book is not to provide us an approach to literary criticism so that we can use it to analyze the symbolic meanings of disease metaphors at our option, but to remind us that "the most truthful way of regarding illness — and the healthiest way of being ill — is regarding illness itself as most purified of, most resistant to, metaphorical thinking" (1977: 5, 3). Her point is that "illness is not a metaphor", and "it is toward an elucidation of those

metaphors, and a liberation from them" that she dedicated her inquiry about the disease (Sontag 1977: 4). If that is the case, then it is not enough to treat diseases in Lawrence's novel as metaphoric. Personally, diseases in Lawrence's novels are more dynamic images than fixed metaphors, and their power of them lies in their material quality. In other words, the sympathetic and empathetic power of his imagination lies in natural and material images of disease experience.

Gaston Bachelard (1884－1962), Lawrence's contemporary philosopher and literary critic, illustrated the power of material images in a series of works. Bachelard distinguished between two forms of imagination, the formal imagination that gives life to the formal cause and the material imagination that gives life to the material cause. Based on this differentiation, Bachelard turned to those *direct images of matter* from the images of formal imagination which have always received the attention they deserve from the philosophers. In other words, he emphasizes the material or materialized images. He chose literary examples in his research, aiming to "contribute some means, some tools for renewing literary criticism" (Bachelard 1983: 17). Along with the contemporary Freudian psychoanalysis of dreams, Bachelard believes there should be "a psychophysics and a psychochemistry of dreams":

> Therefore, along with the psychoanalysis of dreams, there should be psychophysics and a psychochemistry of dreams. This intensely materialistic psychoanalysis should return to the old precepts that held elemental diseases to be curable by elemental medicines, the material element is the determining factor in the disease, as in the cure. We suffer through dreams and are cured by dreams. In the cosmology of dreams, the material elements remain the fundamental ones. (1983: 4)

In his view, the material elements are fundamental in dreams and reveries of poets and novelists the same way as in the disease and the cure. That is to say, even for psychological diseases, the material elements play a significant role. This realistic psychoanalysis corresponds to Sontag's view on "modern predilection for psychological explanations of disease", and she argues that "psychological understanding undermines the 'reality' of a disease" (Sontag 1977: 55).

Lawrence himself suffered from illnesses (near－fatal influenza, physical paralysis, pneumonia, and TB) which could become metaphors for him to represent his powerlessness in modern society or to symbolize a physical retreat from reality. The series of related illnesses, however, as Krockel said, marked "critical moments of his life" (2011: 67). It is this intensive experience that enabled him in a way to create those material images of diseases.

Bachelard regarded Lawrence as a great English writer from whose works we could find "many great dreams of excessive material life" (2011: 27). Though he did not mention images of disease in Lawrence's works, the material quality of those images should not be ignored. A good example can be found in *The White Peacock* where the above－mentioned protagonist George drooped and faded, "like a tree that is falling, going soft and pale and rotten, clammy with small fungi, he stood leaning against the gate, while the dim afternoon drifted with a flow of thick sweet sunshine past him, not touching him" (Lawrence 1950: 367). George's bodily state of being is described in such a unique and powerful way that physical and mental elements of his disease (delirium tremens) converge here in the material image of "a falling tree" which the "sweet sunshine" can no longer touch. A slow reading of this kind of image often brings forth a deeper understanding of Lawrence's vitalistic view of

life and things.

Influenced by and contributing to vitalism, Lawrence has long been referred to as a vitalist. Traditionally, "vitalism" as an umbrella term refers to a range of non-mechanistic philosophies in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century, which, according to Omri Moses, "regard life as a conjunction of these unique systems that unfold by operations that are self-determining rather than wholly constrained by physical or chemical laws" (2014: 3). Earlier than Moses, Jane Bennett traced the controversial term and discussed respectively and comparatively Immanuel Kant's *Bildungstrieb*, the embryologist Driesch's *entelechy*, and Bergson's *élan vital*. Her vitalism, however, is not one in the traditional sense. She equates affect with materiality, "rather than posit a separate force that can enter and animate a physical body" (Bennett 2010: xiii). Both their theories tend to understand life materially. Moreover, Moses brought vitalist ideas into close alignment with literary modernism due to the recent critical "return" to vitalism, paying more attention to "moment-by-moment alterations in relationships that define the self" (Moses 2014: 2).

As for Lawrence, John Beer discussed his way of impersonality and "constituent vitalism", which according to him results from "the attempt to reach back into instincts shared with the animal" (2003: 117). Kristy Martin, on the other hand, pointed out that it was Lawrence's interest "both in bodies and in how the boundaries of the body might be breached" that led him to vitalism. Martin focused on Lawrence's interest in "the embodiment of feeling", which entails "a sense that one's emotions are not controlled by one's mind and are not things one can own" (2013: 142). Accordingly, the images of disease in Lawrence's novels are the embodiment of strong emotions on one hand and help the writer to explore the relationship between "the affective, nonmental communication" and morality on the other. In *Sons and Lovers*, the image of Mrs. Morel's suffering from cancer and not giving up fighting at the end of her life made Paul suffer his mother's illness too. This communication through bodily and mental pain is intensified when "her body was wasted to a fragment of ash" (Lawrence 1996: 389) and Paul felt that "[the] fibre seemed to snap in his heart" (Lawrence 1996: 390). He put superfluous morphia pills into his mother's milk, which sped up her death and brought up moral discussions on the controversial euthanasia. What is more complicated, however, lies in the recurrence of a Lawrencian motif: the ambivalence of life and death. Paul once felt as if "he were agreeing to die also" during the last days of his mother's life (Lawrence 1996: 389). After she was gone, "his life seemed to drift slowly, as if he were drawn towards death" (Lawrence 1996: 403–04). They shared both bodily pain and painful sympathy, which made Paul fulfill a moral choice in the end. The embodiment of this fear and struggle is inscribed in the morphia pills, or the matter of morphia.

All in all, rather than use disease metaphors that simply symbolize mental or social problems, Lawrence tends to literalize those disease images which are both material and dynamic. Another example can be found in *Women in Love*. Hermione, the hero Birkin's pursuer, was depicted as falling into a chaotic state of being, that is, being mad. Imagining that she was "walled up in horror" and that "he was the wall", she literalized the *image of breaking down the wall* by biffing him with a "beautiful ball of lapis lazuli" (Lawrence 1996: 122). As Krockel pointed out, "what begins as a symbol for her state of being is converted into a literal reality" (2011: 73), or rather, she achieves "a symbolic conversion" through material and dynamic image. Moreover, what is interesting and important is that Lawrence tends to relate his heroes' illness to their encounters with people, especially with women. Birkin fell into illness after his encounter with and escaping from Hermione, while Aaron

got the life-threatening flu after a sexual liaison with Josephine, losing his integrity and real physical debilitation, that is, vitality.

Lawrence wrote diseases in his novels, but he seldom used them metaphorically, or he did not intend to do so. It is not that physical diseases are symbolic, but that mental diseases are imagined materially and dynamically. His own experience to a degree enabled him to write the feelings of a patient, and yet the power of these writings lies in his material imagination of the disease. Disease metaphors can easily be used to judge a society as out of balance or as repressive as Susan Sontag argues, and "they turn up regularly in Romantic rhetoric which opposes heart to head, spontaneity to reason, nature to artifice, country to the city" (Sontag 1977: 73). It is the feelings of the patients, however, that produce the sympathetic experience of both characters and readers. Lawrencian vitalism suggests how the individual might be sympathetically open to others and the world, and individuality for him "does not mean remaining separately within one's body, but an ability to sympathetically, energetically reach out of oneself" (Martin 2013: 146). Therefore, the disease experience of both patients and carers suggests a way of being sympathetically in tune with each other. In this sense, the communication of emotions is achieved through the communication of bodily pain and sensual feelings, and choices and actions are made based on sympathetic experience.

4 Conclusion

For Lawrence, as for many other modernist writers, pneumonia, TB, cancer, neurosis, and delirium have the potential to become metaphors in their novels to symbolize social maladies and cures. These diseases and experiences of disease, however, appear more often as material images in Lawrence's novels. On one hand, diseases are natural happenings to the characters, working as agents to connect individuals and help them to feel bodily rather than know consciously who they are. In other words, disease works not so much as a metaphor than as an agent that has the power to act and influence the characters. Lawrence wrote them naturally to help his characterization. On the other, the material images of disease experience are natural and dynamic, and their sympathetic and empathetic power lies in their material quality. In Lawrence's novels, disease images become embodiment of strong emotions and help both the writer and readers to interpret the relationship between the affective, nonmental communication and moral choices and actions.

Lawrence's relating disease experience with bodily sympathy makes him creative and powerful in his imagination of having disease and dying. Just as a psychological explanation may undermine the "reality" of a disease, a metaphorical or political understanding of disease will do the same. Science and appropriate treatment are needed to confront diseases, a sympathetic connection between patients, and between human beings and different nations is needed as well, which is a "healthy" way of reading and understanding diseases in literary works.

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(Editors: LIU Min & JIANG Qing)

Silko's Cosmopolitan Vision:
Community Writing in *Gardens in the Dunes*

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Abstract: The American Indian novel, *Gardens in the Dunes*, tells the story of the decline of the tribal community located on the Colorado River, the resistance of the pan-Indian community, the syncretism of the Indian-white community, and the construction of the global community in the late 19th century, which reveals the fluid character of community and Silko's cosmopolitan vision. In the novel, Silko describes the attempts and efforts of the endangered Sand Lizard tribe to find safety in an insecure world, pointing out that the community must insist on solidifying the base as well as making innovations, incorporating new landscape into the existing body of knowledge, revising and supplementing it. Silko interprets her thought on the survival and development of the nation, calling for the coming of a harmonious, balanced, open and inclusive community in which the local and the global coexist.

Keywords: *Gardens in the Dunes*; tribal community; pan-Indian community; Indian-white community; global community

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西爾科的世界主義理想：
《沙丘花園》中的共同體書寫

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摘　要：美國印第安小說《沙丘花園》講述了 19 世紀末科羅拉多河岸部落共同體的衰落、泛印第安共同體的抵抗、印白共同體的融合和國際共同體的建構，揭示了共同體的流動性特徵和西爾科的世界主義理想。西爾科在小說中描述了瀕臨滅絕的沙地蜥蜴部落在一個不確定的世界尋找安全的嘗試和努力，指出共同體必須堅持固本與創新，將新景觀納入到已有的知識體系，對其進行修正和補充。西爾科詮釋了對民族生存與發展的思考，召喚地方性與全球性共在的和諧、平衡、開放、包容的國際共同體的來臨。

關鍵詞：《沙丘花園》；部落共同體；泛印第安共同體；印白共同體；國際共同體

引言

　　「共同體」（community）一詞源於拉丁語 communities，雷蒙 · 威廉斯（Raymond Williams）在《關鍵字：文化與社會的辭彙》中追溯了共同體在不同時期的基本含義：一，平民百姓（14—17 世紀）；二，國家或組織有序的社會（14 世紀起）；三，某個地區的人民（18 世紀起）；四，共同擁有某物的特質，例如共同利益、共同財產（16 世紀起）；五，共同身份與特徵的意識（16 世紀起）。第一至第三種含義指的是實際的社會團體，第四和第五種含義指的是一種關係特質。「共同體可以用來描述一組現存的關係，或者是另一組關係」（William，1985：76），也就是想像的關係、建構的關係。本文涉及的共同體首先是一個地區的人民形成的部落共同體，然後是具有共同身份、創傷記憶和文化訴求的不同部落的印第安人形成的泛印第安共同體，以及美國印第安人與白人形成的印白共同體，延伸至印第安人與不同國籍、種族、民族群體形成的國際共同體。

　　在《美國本土裔作家和她們的共同體》中，傑斯 · 韋弗（Jace Weaver）創造了「共同體主義」（communitism）這一概念，用來形容本土裔作家的「共同體意識」（Weaver，1997：52）以及共同體書寫的做事話語行為。韋弗對萊斯利 · 瑪蒙 · 西爾科（Leslie Marmon Silko，1948-）的前兩部小說進行了評論，認為《典儀》（*Ceremony*）中的塔尤（Tayo）與共同體重建聯繫得以存活，而《死者年鑒》（*Almanac of the Dead*）中的斯特林（Sterling）被共同體驅逐，遭受了重大損失（Weaver，1997：79），指出個體身份的形成與共同體有關，但是韋弗討論的是「更大的共同體」（the wider community）概念，即人與自然是生命共同體，沒有關注到不同類型的共同體和它們之間的內在聯繫。在她的第三部小說《沙丘花園》（*Gardens in the Dunes*）中，西爾科講述了 19 世紀末科羅拉多河岸部落共同體的衰落、泛印第安共同體的抵抗、印白共同體的融合、國際共同體的建構。部落共同體主張天人合一，西進運動和同化教育等一系列白人政府對印第安群體的「放療」和「化療」操作使人與自然遭受不同程度的摧毀和破壞。部落共同體的衰落使來自不同部落的印第安人形成泛印第安共同體，他們採取非暴力的鬼舞宗教信仰運動進行文化抵抗，但是由於泛印第安共同體始終是作為盎格

魯‧撒克遜共同體的對立面存在,它引發了白人殖民者的恐慌和不安,導致印第安人被拘禁乃至屠殺。泛印第安共同體的積極意義表現在它打開了隔離的社區,使印第安人主動或被動地參與到主流社會的公共空間,為印第安人與白人的融合創造了條件。不同於其他本土裔作家,西爾科沒有講述印第安人如何與白人融合,而是關注印第安人、白人在融合過程中與自己人的矛盾與衝突,表現印白融合的複雜性和張力。全球化發展推動了印白共同體跨越國家邊界,主人公的歐洲旅行使其意識到古歐洲文明與印第安傳統文化的共通與不同,在交流互鑒中走向國際共同體。共同體呈現流動性特徵,部落共同體到泛印第安共同體、印白共同體、國際共同體,最後回到部落共同體,形成一個完整的環形結構。終點是起點的提升,部落共同體在固本中創新,在創新中發展,揭示了西爾科的世界主義理想。

一、人口、生態與同化:部落共同體的衰落

共同體起源於部落,具有地緣性質。部落對於印第安人來說是一個大寫的家庭,在這個家庭中,人與動、植物、土地天人合一,保持和諧、平衡的關係,過著自足的生活。但是,隨著白人殖民者對印第安群體一系列政策的實施,印第安人的生存與發展遭遇巨大的挑戰,部落共同體也面臨很多問題。

首先是人的數量的減少。小說中的沙地蜥蜴是一個瀕臨滅絕的部落。在茵迪歌和鹽巴姐姐還未出生的時候,一夥淘金客入侵槍殺了大多數沙地蜥蜴人,祖父就是死於那時,女人和孩子們被囚擄在了尤馬堡(Fort Yuma)。祖母逃了出來,回到沙丘花園。母親沒逃出來,與一位牧師生下了鹽巴姐姐。而後沒過幾年,母親又在花園附近被擄走,生下了茵迪歌。一些沙地蜥蜴人與其它部落通婚,離開了沙丘花園,住到了保留地上。保留地印第安人被限制在一個地方,不能隨意走動,祖母這樣評價保留地上的印第安人:「如果他們不能到處行走,將無法找到足夠的食物;如果人們在一個地方呆得太久,就會很快吃光所有東西」(Silko,1999:17)。至此,沙地蜥蜴部落只有四個沙地蜥蜴人生活在花園中:祖母、母親、鹽巴姐姐和茵迪歌。

其次是生態系統的被打斷。沙地蜥蜴部落生長在沙丘花園。沙丘花園,顧名思義原本是寸草不生的地方,但是沙地蜥蜴人世代居住,通過與植物溝通、和動物分享,建立了一個良好的生態系統,花園生機盎然。但是,逃荒者的蜂擁而至破壞了生態系統,她們「吃光上一年度作為首果奉獻給祖先的風乾南瓜,耗盡用於下個季節的作物種子,清空野葫蘆藤,燒煮野草和灌木的根,甚至深挖古花園的沙土,暴露已經發芽的種子」(Silko,1999:18)。逃荒者對種子的破壞使沙地蜥蜴人失去了重要的食物來源,祖母和母親不得不帶領茵迪歌和鹽巴姐姐跨越界限,來到白人小鎮上維持生計,在那裏祖母向遊客出售手工藝品,母親靠洗衣為生。部落共同體呈現流動性特徵,祖母帶領茵迪歌和鹽巴姐姐穿梭於沙丘花園和 Needles 小鎮之間。

再者是同化教育的侵襲。十九世紀八十年代,西進運動將印第安人驅逐至保留地,白人得到原本屬於印第安人的土地,然後將同化印第安人提上日程。聯邦政府通過封閉化管理保留地,阻止他們與部落印第安人聯繫,孤立保留地上的印第安人。同時,派遣牧師在保留地上傳教,將 6 至 16 歲的適齡兒童送到寄宿學校進行同化教育。同化教育使為數不多的印第安人皈依白人文明,更重要的是,它創造了一批白人的「印第安武士」。抓捕適齡兒童的武裝力量由白人士兵和印第安員警構成,白人政府利用被同化的印第安人對抗傳統印第安人,導致部落共同體的分裂。在祖母年邁去世、母親不知所蹤後,沙地蜥蜴人茵迪歌被送到寄宿學校,鹽巴姐姐在保留地上從事勞動,部落共同體分裂成個體。

伴隨著人口數量驟減、生態環境被破壞和同化教育的入侵,具有地緣性質的部落共同體呈現流動性特徵,表現為跨越邊界,在沙丘花園與白人小鎮之間發生位移,為泛印第安共同體的形成奠定了基礎。

二、鬼舞：泛印第安共同體的非暴力抵抗

　　泛印第安共同體源於泛印第安主義（Pan-Indianism）。泛印第安主義起源於平原地區，與馬匹的引入和因此產生的人口流動密切相關。大多數平原地區印第安人以狩獵為生，他們的獵物主要是野牛和麋鹿。在馬來到平原地區之前，印第安人的狩獵方式是步行追逐獵物，因此打獵通常是危險的任務，而且成功率較低。隨著 17 世紀馬匹被引入，印第安人的狩獵方式發生了變化，馬的力量和速度使狩獵效率大幅度提高。此外，馬成為了一種交通工具，使不同部落的印第安人有了更多的接觸和交往，成為泛印第安主義生成的歷史條件。

　　聯邦政府為同化印第安人實行的保留地政策促進了泛印第安主義的發展。到了 1870 年，不同部落的平原地區印第安人先後被驅逐至保留地上生活，白人開始使用「印第安人」稱謂，而保留地印第安人為了尋求物質生存和精神慰藉在不同地方穿梭，與其它部落的印第安人建立了聯繫。「在這個過程中，不僅他們的「印第安人」身份得到了加強，而且他們對於自己作為普遍意義上的人的概念也在發展」（Thomas, 1965：77），以蘇族為例，他們會認為自己是蘇族人和印第安人。泛印第安主義賦予從部落共同體中分裂出來的個體「泛印第安人」身份，泛印第安人的民族差異性被最大程度的擱置，他們擁有共同的創傷記憶和文化訴求，形成了以鬼舞為政治語言的泛印第安共同體。

　　鬼舞運動的開創者沃沃卡（Wovoka）是一位來自派尤特部落的先知，他在死後見到了上帝，上帝對印第安人的悲慘遭遇表示同情，他讓印第安人進行鬼舞儀式，從右到左，沿著太陽運轉的方向跳舞，大地將會變得完整，「清澈的泉水、樹木和草原上的麋鹿、水牛會重新回來」（Silko, 1999：23）。來自派尤特部落、Walapai 部落、Havasupai 部落，乃至北方和東部的印第安人聚集在科羅拉多河岸進行四天的鬼舞儀式，等待彌賽亞的到來。「彌賽亞的到來，既被理解為一個救贖性（redemptive）到來，也被理解為一個滅世性（apocalyptic）到來」（吳冠中，2016：45），他給予印第安人往昔回歸的希望，也帶來白人消逝的預言。當所有的印第安人手拉著手繞一個圓圈跳舞，他們在建立與大地、自然和祖先的聯繫，聯結的力量使彌賽亞和他的家人出現在圓圈的中心，彌賽亞告訴印第安人和平、友愛。彌賽亞說的不是英語，也不是特定某一部落的語言，而是「愛的語言」（Silko, 1999：32），「所有的舞者都能聽懂，無論他們來自哪個部落」（Silko, 1999：31）。儘管和平和友愛作為共同價值被所有的印第安人信仰，但是泛印第安共同體與白人的對立屬性導致了鬼舞儀式的被打斷，印第安人被拘禁甚至屠殺。

　　泛印第安共同體通過區分實現整合，「我們」的身份是通過「他們」界定的。「只有先決定和宣稱誰是與我們「不一樣」的人們，才能決定與宣稱「我們」是誰。「他們」的身份是「我們」的自我身份及其明確合法性的一個必要條件，而且在很多情況下還是一個充要條件」（鮑曼，2018：217）。「他們」是「我們」的對立面，是我們成為「我們」的一個重要前提。在與其它部落的印第安人接觸和交流中，部落印第安人將其他部落的印第安人與歐洲殖民者進行對比，發現了不同部落的印第安人具有共同之處。泛印第安共同體的對立面是盎格魯・撒克遜共同體，泛印第安共同體的形成是為了抵抗盎格魯・撒克遜共同體的剝削和壓迫，抵抗有不同的表現形式，分為政治聯盟和宗教信仰。作為宗教信仰的外在表現形式的鬼舞具有和平性質，後期發展成為以傷溪穀大屠殺為標誌的暴力事件，主要原因是白人對印第安人的恐懼。「當白人看到很多印第安人聚集在一個地方時，他們就會感到不安」（Silko, 1999, 24），而且鬼舞進程伴隨著暴風驟雪，被認為是神秘的非自然力量的再現，加劇了白人殖民者的恐慌。

　　在《懷舊的烏托邦》中，齊格蒙特・鮑曼指出，面對充滿不確定性的現在和未來，人們越來越希望回到過去，由此進入了一個懷舊的時代。哈佛大學斯拉夫比較文化教授斯維特拉娜・波伊姆認為，懷舊病是「一種

「損失−替代」情感,也是某個人自己幻想的浪漫」(Boym,2001:xiii)。西爾科將鬼舞的預言編織在她的共同體敘事中,並不是想要回到過去,創造一種烏托邦想像或者不切實際的逃避,而是指向印第安人對文化滅絕的非暴力抵抗。以鬼舞為政治語言的泛印第安共同體表達了西爾科的「結伴不結盟」思想,所有的印第安人建立一種夥伴關係而不是軍事聯盟。但是,印第安人認為的夥伴關係在白人殖民者看來可能是軍事聯盟,因為他們有著不同的價值觀念和文化傳統,正是因為他們總是在各抒己見,才產生了雙方對立的危機。因此,印第安人與白人的融合非常重要。儘管鬼舞被白人士兵和印第安員警打斷,但它打開了隔離的社區,使印第安人跨越邊界,為印第安人與白人的融合奠定了基礎。

三、刻板印象與內部矛盾:印白共同體的融合

《沙丘花園》主要講述了印第安小女孩茵迪歌與白人夫婦愛德華、海蒂在一起的生活經歷,但是西爾科沒有講述印第安人與白人的衝突與融合,而是講述印第安人與白人在融合過程中與自己人的矛盾與衝突。小說中的印第安人與白人大致可分為開放派和保守黨,開放派的代表人物是茵迪歌和海蒂,愛德華和廚師是典型的保守黨。保守黨區別於開放派的一個顯著特徵是根深蒂固的刻板印象。

印第安人對白人的刻板印象或來自印第安人的個人經歷,或來自故事中對白人的描述,而白人對印第安人的刻板印象大多源於官方敘事對印第安人形象的扭曲。愛德華家的廚師初見茵迪歌就不喜歡她,出於對印第安人的刻板印象和恐懼,她曾夢見被印第安人殺死,也害怕有朝一日會被從草叢中湧現的印第安人強暴。因此,當廚師看見茵迪歌出現在愛德華家的花園中,臉上充滿了厭惡和仇恨,她向女主人海蒂提出將茵迪歌報送寄宿學校,「您必須通知學校。這是法律規定」(Silko,1999:74),而當海蒂表現出躊躇、猶豫時,廚師對這位女主人的情感和態度發生了微妙的變化,「在那一刻海蒂意識到這位廚師不喜歡她」(Silko,1999:74),廚師連帶不喜歡的還有和茵迪歌在一起玩耍的猴子以及負責照顧猴子的女僕,「廚師需要一個人去憎恨,隨著茵迪歌的遠行,她會憎恨猴子,也會連帶地憎恨女僕」(Silko,1999:114)。在小說中廚師沒有名字,她是盎格魯−撒克遜民族中的滄海一粟,但代表著這個民族共同體對印第安人的厭惡和仇恨態度,以及對和印第安人建立親密關係的共同體成員的複雜情感。

愛德華自詡對印第安人有一定的瞭解,但是他的一知半解與廚師一樣是來自於扭曲的官方敘事,在他看來,茵迪歌是野蠻、未開化的人,因此他和海蒂對茵迪歌有教育的義務。愛德華利用茵迪歌的家庭成員身份為其走私植物做掩護,但沒有給予其平等的地位。當他看到勞拉贈予茵迪歌同等數量的劍蘭種子作為禮物,心裏感到不是滋味,因為他始終覺得自己與茵迪歌不對等,同時覺得勞拉荒謬可笑,相信這個印第安小女孩會種植劍蘭。一方面,愛德華認為自己的白人身份高人一等,另一方面,印第安人被貼上了野蠻、未開化的標籤。而事實上,茵迪歌比愛德華更懂得植物的意義。

西爾科對愛德華和廚師的塑造反映了白人對印第安人的偏見大多來自於刻板印象,值得注意的是,刻板印象不僅負面影響了印第安人與白人的正向交往,而且正是因為刻板印象的普遍性,白人在與印第安人的交往過程中受到了來自內部的暴力。海蒂遭受的暴力與其說是因為父權社會對女性的剝削與壓迫,不如說她與印第安人的親近刺激了 Needles 小鎮上白人的敏感神經,因此遭到了他們的打擊、報復。在海蒂出行前,律師麥克斯韋先生(Mr. Maxwell)提醒她「一個女人獨自在這裏旅行並不安全」(Silko,1999:452),而海蒂不以為然,覺得她已經獨自旅行了幾個月,非常安全。海蒂沒有想到的是,上一次來到小鎮上吸引的目光和注意會演變成惡意,像往常一樣,她在旅館住了一天,然後帶著很多大件行李坐馬車去看望茵迪歌。在路上,海蒂被車夫施暴和性侵,失去了意識,身體上受到重創。讓海蒂更意想不到的是,鎮上的人們包庇「自己人」,旅館的接待、領班和其他工作人員聲稱沒有看見她離開旅館,自然也不知道車夫長成什麼樣子;在她被

襲擊的那一天,也查不到任何人和馬的出行記錄。照顧海蒂的一位理髮師太太一針見血地指出,「這裏的人不歡迎愛管閒事的外人」(Silko,1999:459),海蒂對茵迪歌和鹽巴姐姐物質上的幫助和與她們建立的親密關係使鎮上的白人反感和厭惡,導致了悲劇事件的發生。

民族共同體的排他性對於親近印第安人的白人來說是一個巨大的挑戰,因為她們面臨的是被盎格魯-撒克遜共同體驅逐。小說結尾,海蒂在看望茵迪歌的路上受到了襲擊和強暴,是小鎮上的印第安人發現了她,交由茵迪歌等人照顧,在鬼舞儀式中心靈得到了慰藉。當阿博特(Abbott)的妻子看見海蒂「穿著印第安長裙、蓬頭垢面」(Silko,1999:471),完全不符合主流社會為白人中產階級女士設定的框架,以為女兒的腦子出了問題,必須去醫院接受治療。海蒂與茵迪歌等人的親密關係以及對印第安文化的認同遭到了父母的強烈反對,他們採用強制性措施將海蒂帶走,而在火車站海蒂的逃跑預示著原生家庭的解體;另一方面,它認證了海蒂與不同膚色、沒有血緣關係的茵迪歌、外延至鹽巴姐姐和雙胞胎姐妹的家庭共同體的誕生。

與自己人的衝突與矛盾不只限於白人,印第安人也面臨這個問題。海蒂與茵迪歌的親密關係不僅使海蒂遭到了白人群體的打擊和報復,而且讓茵迪歌受到了鹽巴姐姐的質疑和誤解。在與海蒂共同生活的日子裏,茵迪歌真實地感受到了海蒂對她無微不至的照顧和關愛,在内心裏接受了這個白人女性的家庭成員身份。因此,當鹽巴姐姐質疑海蒂時,茵迪歌譴責鹽巴姐姐不應該如此「回報陌生人的友善和慷慨」,

「我注意到你吃了她帶來的食物;用的是她帶來的燈和油」,茵迪歌說。
「你聽起來像個白人女孩!聽聽你自己說的吧!」
「聽聽你自己!你就是那個人!你不假思索地傷害感情,就像白人一樣!」(Silko,1999:446)

白人為印第安人提供生活上的必需品,指向監管制度。白人對印第安人的監管與海蒂對茵迪歌的幫助不同,前者意味著一種附屬關係,但是海蒂與茵迪歌是在平等的基礎上相互尊重,膚色並不決定二者的交往本質。海蒂的如期而至消除了鹽巴姐姐的顧慮,她也在内心裏接受了海蒂的家庭成員身份。

印第安人與白人對共同體的界定不同,印第安人認為共同體是開放的和包容的,共同體不只是人的群體,它還包括自然界中的其他生物以及非生命體;而白人的共同體是封閉的和排他的,表徵為對自己人的接納與認同以及對他者的排斥與抵制。當海蒂與茵迪歌融合為印白共同體,白人將海蒂驅逐出盎格魯‧撒克遜共同體,甚至對海蒂施暴表達對印第安人的仇恨和厭惡,追根溯源,刻板印象具有不可退卻的責任,它是印地安人與白人融合的阻力,同時也是印第安人、白人與自己人內部矛盾的推手。如何解決這個問題,西爾科的態度是承認差異和真誠交往。西爾科的印白共同體書寫,一方面為國際共同體的到來奠定基礎,另一方面反映了作家對印第安人與白人融合問題的前瞻性認識。

四、固本與創新:國際共同體的建構

國際共同體的建構不是努力找到共同體成員的同質性,也不是創造一致的内在性,而是經由對事物的共同關注打開一個通道,共同體成員溝通和分享各自的理解,在這個過程中,她們意識到共通,也會發現不同。在一次訪談中,西爾科指出,「在人與人之間,在不同的民族與種族之間,我們人為地畫上了一道界線。但是人與人之間總是有好多的共同點,比如說戰爭、彌賽亞。如果撇開人們背後的政治因素不談,歐洲人與美洲土著人之間的共通之處遠遠多於他們的不同之處(Arnold and Silko,1998:10)」。共通意味著相互關聯,不同旨在尊重差異和交流互鑒。來自沙地蜥蜴部落的茵迪歌與美國中產階級白人海蒂、英國的布朗溫姑媽(Aunt Bronwyn)和義大利的勞拉(Laura)形成國際共同體,她們有共同的愛好和興趣,茵迪歌和海蒂在遊歷

花園的過程中有意識或不自覺地將新景觀納入已有的知識體系，並對其進行修正和補充，做出了不同程度的改變。

歐洲人與美洲土著人的共通之處首先表現為對蛇的尊敬。沙地蜥蜴是蛇的親屬，被蛇邀請至沙丘花園繁衍生息，因此沙地蜥蜴人尊敬蛇，蛇也被認為是部落的守護神。在沙丘花園，祖蛇守護一方泉水，滋養沙地蜥蜴萬物生長。在勞拉的花園中，茵迪歌主動與勞拉開始了關於蛇的對話，詢問花園是否有蛇，勞拉也分享了小的時候，她的祖母會在儲藏室放一條黑蛇，防止地鼠的入侵，茵迪歌表示贊同，祖母總是感激蛇對於沙地蜥蜴人的保護。

其次，人與動物的差異性被最大限度的擱置，布朗溫姑媽和勞拉將動物視為人類親密的朋友。印第安人作為一個他者經常會因為舉止怪異受到注視，因此茵迪歌善於捕捉陌生人看待她的目光，當她帶著鳥籠出現在勞拉的面前，勞拉沒有覺得異常。布朗溫姑母的愛爾蘭獵犬習慣睡在床上，她也不介意茵迪歌將鸚鵡從籠子中放出來，甚至邀請雷恩博（鸚鵡）和她們共進晚餐，體現了布朗溫姑媽和勞拉的動物平等觀。在勞拉的花園中，茵迪歌被一個熊媽媽擁抱寶寶的雕塑吸引，熊媽媽散發出來的母愛讓茵迪歌想到了自己的母親和祖母，海蒂也受到了觸動，「她感到一股情感湧上心頭，卡在喉嚨裏，直到熱淚盈眶」（Silko, 1999：298）。動物與人共通的母愛情感幫助海蒂認識到動物與人的差異更多是人為定義的，她逐漸將茵迪歌的猴子和鸚鵡視為家庭成員，不僅為茵迪歌提供生活上的必需品，而且給鸚鵡和猴子帶來食物，表達了對印第安文化的認同。

此外，對植物的關心和照顧拉近了茵迪歌與布朗溫姑媽和勞拉的距離。布朗溫姑媽的菜園（kitchen garden）種植了來自世界各地的蔬菜：美洲的番茄、馬鈴薯、南瓜、甜玉米；義大利的大蒜、洋蔥、蠶豆、蘆筍、鷹嘴豆；亞洲和非洲的辣椒。不管是原產於美洲還是義大利，抑或亞洲和非洲的植物，在現代花園中它們沒有邊界，共同生長。布朗溫姑媽相信植物有靈魂，「如果一個花園不被愛護，它就不能正常生長」（Silko, 1999：240），愛護花園也就是愛護花園中的一草一木，關心和照顧植物。在沙丘花園中，每一個人都有自己照顧的植物，沙地蜥蜴人認為植物會傾聽，因此不能在植物面前吵架，否則它就會枯萎。

茵迪歌的植物知識與日俱增，在歐洲花園中，她驚喜地見到了生長在沙丘花園的玉米和南瓜，也發現了未知植物的藥用價值和審美價值。茵迪歌認真學習植物的名字、拉丁語和英語以及它的功效，小心保管植物種子，將布朗溫和勞拉的種植方法付諸實踐。在小說結尾，茵迪歌回到了沙丘花園，她在花園種植劍蘭（gladiolus），劍蘭原產於南非好望角，經多次種間雜交而成，栽培品種廣布世界各地，花色有紅、黃、紫、白、藍等單色或複色品種。起初劍蘭被認為是「無用的花朵」（Silko, 1999：475），茵迪歌將珍貴的水資源浪費在劍蘭的種植上遭到鄰居的詬病。隨著劍蘭開花形成迷人的景觀和散發沁鼻的芬芳，劍蘭被作為禮物贈予教堂的信徒，改善了茵迪歌群體與白人的關係，它的價值逐漸被人們接受。事實上，劍蘭不僅具有審美價值，而且具有食用價值。茵迪歌的做法一方面體現了沙地蜥蜴部落傳統文化中對植物的關心和照顧，另一方面，她將歐洲花園的植物種子培育在沙丘花園中和對新事物的接受體現了印第安文化的韌性和不斷發展的傳統概念。

西爾科的世界主義理想不是指向印第安人在異國他鄉的生存策略，而是汲取外部的力量夯實內部的架構，回到本土重塑部落共同體。祖母的種子思想對茵迪歌和鹽巴姐姐產生了不同程度的影響，對於部落共同體的形塑具有重要作用。茵迪歌在歐洲遊歷了各種類型的花園，收集到的種子為沙丘花園注入了雜糅的生命力，而鹽巴姐姐與具有印第安血統的黑人生下了 grandfather，茵迪歌、鹽巴姐姐與兒子（little grandfather）回到沙丘花園，新的生命象徵著沙地蜥蜴人的希望。同時，老蛇（Old Snake）的女兒也回到了花園，預示著一個新的部落共同體的到來。

結語

　　《沙丘花園》中的共同體書寫呈現環形結構,以部落共同體為起點,終點回到部落共同體。新的部落共同體在人與自然和諧、平衡的關係基礎上,呈現開放性和包容性。新的部落共同體是國際共同體的建構。西爾科自述,「我認為自己是國際共同體中的一員」,西爾科是拉古納美國人,她也是一位世界公民。「當我寫作時,我是寫給世界的,而不是寫給美國一個國家的」,她寫給美國印第安人的固本和創新,寫給白人的承認差異和尊重他者,也是寫給世界的,即人與自然是生命共同體和在國際共同體中交流互鑒,旨在創造一個更加美好的世界,體現了美國本土裔作家的世界主義理想。

注釋

　　① Arnold, E. & Silko, L. M. (1998). Listening to the spirits: An interview with Leslie Marmon Silko. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, 10(3), 1-33.

　　② Boym, S. (2001). *The future of nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

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　　⑦ FU Channi. (2021). A study of Leslie Fielder's views of American novels in his cultural criticism. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(3), 158-165.

　　⑧ ZHANG Xianjun. (2021). City and city affairs: The American cities in Saul Bellow's works. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(3), 139-148.

　　⑨ 齊格蒙特・鮑曼著,姚偉等譯:《懷舊的烏托邦》,中國人民大學出版社,2018 年版。

　　⑩ 吳冠中:《「我們所擁有的唯一時間」——透析阿甘本的彌賽亞主義》,《山東社會科學》2016 年第 9 期,頁 45-55。

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Translation Norms of Yueju Opera to Go Global：

A Case Study of *The Legend of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai*：

A Yueju Opera Translated by Shi Yili

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Abstract：As one of China's major operas and world intangible cultural heritage，Yueju Opera plays an important role in the process of translating Chinese traditional culture. From the perspective of external propaganda，this paper firstly introduces the Projects for Disseminating Chinese Operatic Dramas Overseas，chiefly edited by He Qixin of Renmin University of China，expounds its studying concept and value，and mainly focuses on the Shi Yili's translation of *The Legend of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai — A Yueju Opera* in this series. By analyzing the unique translation norms adopted by this translation version，it publicizes traditional cultural opera，which is not limited to the script translation itself. This provides more referent methods and perspectives to inspire individuals，relevant institutions，and even central government. Thus，they can further solve many problems and seize more opportunities encountered in the cause of "going global" of Yueju Opera.

Keywords：Yueju Opera；*Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai*；"going global"；publication；translation norms

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越劇「走出去」的翻譯規範探究
——以《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》為例

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摘　要：越劇作為中國五大戲曲劇種及非物質文化遺產之一，在中國傳統文化外宣翻譯過程中，發揮的作用可見一

斑。本文從譯介和外宣視角切入，介紹中國人民大學何其莘教授主編的中國戲曲海外傳播工程叢書，闡述該叢書推出的研究理念及價值，重點聚焦于叢書中石逸莉教授主譯的《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》，具體分析此譯本在外宣文化翻譯方面，採用的別具一格的翻譯規範，而該規範不只局限於劇本翻譯本身。這為啟發個人乃至國家機構進一步構思及解決越劇「走出去」過程中所遇到的諸多難點及機遇，提供了更多可參考的方法及視角。

關鍵詞：越劇；梁祝；譯介；「走出去」；翻譯規範

引言

　　中國戲曲極具中國傳統文化色彩，而中國戲曲文本通過譯介及外宣優秀的傳統文化，為中國文化「走出去」提供更為切實可行的方法。2013 年 8 月 19 日，習近平總書記提出了「講好中國故事，傳播中國聲音」，作為中國對外宣傳工作的新概念新表述。越劇譯介外宣傳遞中國故事，蘊含著中國聲音，以及普世道理。其作為一種特殊的文化外交形式，有利於推進我國良好形象樹立。20 世紀 90 年代後，翻譯進入文化轉向時代，將其譯本作為結果來分析傳播效果、操縱原因等。越劇中的梁祝，早已在海內外聞名遐邇，最先是由中山大學戴凡教授在 2000 年創作的 *Butterfly Lovers：the Chinese Romeo and Juliet*，它不再拘泥於劇本本身直譯，而是進行了改寫，這為越劇「走出去」提供了新的譯介模式。哈佛大學東亞語言與文學系榮休教授、荷蘭皇家藝術和科學院院士、荷蘭漢學家伊維德（Wilt L. Idema）教授在 2010 年出版了 *The Butterfly Lovers：The Legend of Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai，Four Versions with Related Texts*，他將其與《羅密歐與茱麗葉》進行對比，也在文中進行了創新改寫。因其相似的人物特徵、故事情節，譽有東方《羅密歐與茱麗葉》之稱。而本文所舉的石譯《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》個案，與其他純戲曲外譯截然不同，其目的旨在介紹劇本中的中國文化要素，故事來源及海內外傳播，戲曲特色等，形成英語原創性作品，向普通英語讀者傳播中國戲曲故事。筆者將從翻譯規範視角切入，進一步分析石逸莉教授主譯的梁祝，剖析其中獨具匠心的翻譯規範。最終，探尋到一條越劇對外譯介的新模式，也為越劇「走出去」提供新的翻譯規範思路。

一、「中國戲曲海外傳播工程叢書」背景與價值

　　這系列叢書由何其莘教授主編，類屬於中國人民大學發起的「京劇海外傳播工程」之一，一共 24 本圖書，涵蓋了 11 部京劇、8 部崑曲、1 部黃梅戲、1 部越劇、1 部河北梆子、1 部京藏劇及 1 部川劇。具體劇碼名稱如下圖：

京劇	崑曲	越劇
《鎖麟囊》	《義俠記》	《梁山伯與祝英台》
《秦香蓮》	《班昭》	河北梆子
《杜十娘》	《十五貫》	《鍾馗嫁妹》
《宰相劉羅鍋》	《桃花扇》	京藏劇
《貞觀盛世》	《琵琶記》	《文成公主》
《駱駝祥子》	《玉簪記》	川劇
《穆桂英掛帥》	《西廂記》	《變臉》
《竇娥冤》	《潘金蓮》	

京劇	昆曲	越劇
《白蛇傳》		
《廉吏于成龍》		
《六月雪》		

「京劇海外傳播工程」旨在傳承及傳播傳統文化,具體包括四個系列子專案。中國人民大學紀寶成校長認為:「國學是京劇的基礎,京劇是國學的立體表現,蘊藏著深厚的民族精神,價值取向和審美情趣。」[①]因此,弘揚和傳播京劇是京劇「走出去」研究的重要任務。其主編為當時的北京外國語大學教授,中國人民大學特聘教授何其莘。上個世紀 80 年代,他在美國攻讀英國戲劇的碩士研究生學位,主要研究中西方對莎士比亞戲劇的對比。因此,他心生一念,想將中國戲曲外譯到美國出版,但最終因其專業性太強,時機不對,一直未果。直到十七屆六中全會第一次提出中華文化「走出去」,時機降臨,順應了時代呼喚,編著了這套叢書。之前三部試點圖書,兩本已進入了國家漢辦中的海外圖書徵集書目,有一本已經成為了美國加州州立大學專業課教材,供美國學生學習使用。這三本書也分別榮獲商務部 2009—2010 年度「國家文化出口重點項目」和 2009 年新聞出版總署「經典中國國際出版工程」專案[②]。以上三本作為摸索階段試點推出的第一批劇碼,由時代出版集團資助出版。但是,這三本書並沒有歸為「中國戲曲海外傳播工程叢書」正式叢書一類。而在 2013 年才與外研社合作,在 2014 年 1 月贊助並出版了第一批的 9 本書目,其中就有石逸莉教授主譯的《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》。

石逸莉教授主譯的《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》全文字達 10 萬字以上,而劇本翻譯只占三分之一或四分之一,並且不在正文部分,而是成為了副文本之一。正是因為其與傳統的戲曲翻譯截然不同,目的旨在對中國傳統文化感興趣的普通英語讀者傳播越劇相關知識與文化,分享以及弘揚中國傳統戲曲——梁祝背後的故事。所以石逸莉教授在編譯此書時,以正文四個章節為主,後附錄劇本翻譯,越劇行話,章節附註以及其他注釋,以此創新了中國戲曲圖書「走出去」的新譯介模式,根據創新的翻譯規範進行譯介。並且在此書分類部分,其分為了越劇—介紹—英文一類。顯而易見,這一點正是筆者研究這套叢書中《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》的研究價值與理念。眾所周知,越劇中具有極強的專業性表達,極多的戲劇行話乃至大量吳語方言,以及多樣的表演模式,它是中國文化傳統瑰寶,梁祝的通過與眾不同的翻譯規範,能夠啟迪其他越劇,乃至發展和繁榮國學,推動越劇走出國門,走向世界,成為繼 1954 年周恩來率領中國代表團參加日內瓦會議,播放梁祝,這一「戲曲外交」後的另一重大突破。

二、越劇「走出去」之《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》

1906 年,越劇從浙江省紹興市嵊州市的嵊縣農村誕生,是中國第二大劇種,經歷了袁雪芬為代表的「越劇十姐妹」到新中國成立後的男女合作演出的改革實驗。越劇至今,已演繹了將近 110 多年,在外宣方面,也探索了各種譯介模式,最受歡迎的為越劇海外演出。自 1955 年來,中國越劇團由上海越劇院組織,赴德國、越南、朝鮮、法國、荷蘭、美國等國家進行表演。2000 年後,紹興小百花越劇團赴泰國、新加坡等地對外交流文化。此外還有浙江各地越劇團外出演出,其中當屬《梁山伯與祝英台》最受海外大眾喜愛。

(一)翻譯《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》的原因

在對外譯介方面,美國洛杉磯越劇團發揮的作用不容小覷。這是於 2003 年創建,由美國上海聯誼全力

支持,在徐玉蘭、傅全香、王文娟、金采風等老一輩越劇表演藝術家的大力首倡下,是洛杉磯唯一一個以越劇為主要演出和推廣的非盈利、非專業團體。洛杉磯越劇團通過字幕翻譯,將越劇中隱晦難懂的吳語方言和戲曲術語,生動形象傳遞給海外越劇愛好者,讓他們沉浸式瞭解越劇的博大精深。

如今,越劇不僅在國內傳承弘揚上困難重重,在對外譯介更是難上加難。傳統譯介模式即越劇團出國演出巡迴,他們的觀眾永遠都是那麼一小撮中國戲曲粉或越劇迷,如何將觀眾範疇擴大,弘揚內容更深入,成為了越劇對外譯介最大的問題。所以越劇外宣前景可通過不同方式創新探索譯介模式。翻譯規範作為譯介學的一種視角,可以從小見大,可借鑒《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》的非傳統,極具特色的翻譯規範進行譯介越劇,不拘泥于劇本文字翻譯本身,而是達到宣傳以及教育的目的,以此探索新的模式,達到越劇「走出去」的預期效果。

(二) 改寫《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》的方式

梁祝故事,在中國古代民間流傳之廣,留存於四大經典愛情故事之中,其他三個為《白蛇傳》、《孟姜女傳說》和《牛郎織女》。梁祝早在唐代就已經出現,並且在民間早已流傳千年,其中影響最大的當屬越劇形式。1952 年第一屆全國戲曲觀摩演出大會時,《梁山伯與祝英台》獲得了劇本獎和演出一等獎。紹興上虞祝家村是祝英台的故鄉,她外表美麗,天資優越,因其求學心切而女扮男裝,途中,遇見了會稽郡城書生梁山伯,對他一見傾心。山伯卻不知其女子身份,只念他們之間的情愫為兄弟情。在十八裡相送途中,英台不斷借物撫意,暗示愛情。最終愛情得不到雙方父母同意,愛情悲劇因此出現,男女主人公雙雙化蝶。

2014 年 5 月 27 日,何其莘教授接受新華網電話採訪時,提到「我這套叢書的譯者現在大部分都是海外的學子,很多已經被美國的大學聘為終身教授。」他們都具備極高的中英雙語能力,能夠在戲曲翻譯上遊刃有餘。石逸莉教授畢業于西安外國語學院,後在美國密蘇里州立大學任教數年,學術的主攻方向為通過語用學來分析語言的用法。其具備了高超的雙語能力,海外教書多年的經歷為她翻譯梁祝帶來了極大的益處。她充分瞭解英語受眾的認知能力以及表達習慣,能夠瞭解語言表達的「接受性」。石逸莉教授編譯的《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》是以 1979 年上海文藝出版社出版,經由袁雪芬、範瑞娟口述,徐進改編的劇本為底本,而石教授于 2009 年 9 月進行翻譯,期間她諮詢了中國人民大學的外國語學院導師謝江南教授。

石譯版的《越劇:梁山伯與祝英台》全文 247 頁,劇本翻譯並不是主體部分,其篇幅只有 66 頁,占不到三分之一。因受眾為普通英語讀者,正文致力於分享梁祝故事起源,具體發展情節,描寫海內外梁祝的影響程度,戲劇表演方式、角色、音樂、服飾、及相關表演家,甚至分析了文化語境、性別轉換演化、吳語方言的重要性及劇本中符號、表情及隱喻等語言表達手段。其次梁祝劇本翻譯、名詞章節附註、參考文獻等副文本補充,即是全文一部分,也促進了文章與讀者之間的聯繫。以上創造性叛逆的《梁山伯與祝英台》,通過劇本為平臺集成相關的中國文化元素,形成一本越劇「走出去」的首創英語原創作品。

三、翻譯規範

20 世紀 50 年代以來,國際對於翻譯研究,經歷了語言學轉向和文化轉向。從紐馬克根據不同文本類型,從語言學角度分析語篇。20 世紀六七十年代,「規範」(norms) 源於社會學,列維 (Jiri Levy) 和波波維奇 (Anton Popovic) 最先提出了在翻譯過程中的「規範」問題。20 世紀 70 年代後期,「翻譯研究學派」誕生。針對翻譯中出現的文化背景、規範進行探討,其中最為著名的學者為圖裡、赫曼斯和賈斯特曼。圖裡借鑒了以上兩者的思想,從行為主義角度研究「規範」,是在埃文・佐哈爾的多元系統論基礎上,置於目標語主體下,進行描述翻譯。赫曼斯在對圖裡翻譯規範取其精華,去其糟粕後,認為其概念仍然保留了對等,忽略了其中

操縱的實質。

圖裡的翻譯規範主要分為三類：預備規範（preliminary norms）、初始規範（initial norms）、操作規範（operational norms）。預備規範指由當前翻譯政策所決定翻譯文本的選擇。初始規範指翻譯的傾向，考慮其充分性（adequacy）和可接受性（acceptability）。操作性規範指譯者翻譯過程中的特點和風格，可再細分為母體規範（matricial norms）和篇章—語言學規範（textual-linguistic norms）。之後，賈斯特曼借用了社會心理學的 meme（理念因數），但理想因數佔據主導地位，就形成了翻譯規範，這加深了自己的翻譯規範理論。賈斯特曼的翻譯規範分為期待規範（Expectancy norms）與專業規範（Professional norms）。

本文主要以兩種翻譯規範為基礎，分析預備規範，初始規範和期待規範在石逸莉教授主譯的《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》所發揮的制約性影響，將由筆者結合石譯梁祝一一介紹其背景與原因。

（一）預備規範

預備規範主要涉及翻譯的翻譯政策和翻譯路徑，決定翻譯指向性。翻譯政策指決定文本或甚至私人文本種類選擇的因素，通過翻譯，在特定時間呈現至特定文化或語言。《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》出現的翻譯政策會影響國家機構、學校組織及個人翻譯出版。

2008 年 10 月 24 日晚，由中國人民大學、全國政協京昆室、中國外文局共同主辦了「京劇海外傳播工程」啟動儀式暨第二十屆「韓素音青年翻譯獎競賽」。[3]同年 11 月 26 日中華人民共和國教育部以「弘揚傳統文化，創新國學教育—中國人民大學國學院成立三周年」為題[4]，提到中國人民大學的首倡行為回應了十七大的號召，獲得了國家機關重要人物的關心及指示，全國人大常委會副委員長周鐵農、全國政協副主席鄭萬通出席工程啟動儀式。十七屆六中全會第一次提出了中華文化「走出去」，明確提出了「增強國家文化軟實力，弘揚中華文化，努力建設社會主義文化強國」的戰略任務。此時，正是越劇「走出去」的最佳時機，「中國戲曲海外傳播工程叢書」因此應運而生。

越劇外譯歷史上，特定的政治需求一直是動因之一。通戲劇藝術之間進行交流是國家間最為柔性的交流途徑，其特殊性能宣傳中國的政治立場，以及自身發展理念，以此世界才能真正瞭解中國。越劇外譯史上，最早可溯源至 1953 年攝製的《梁山伯與祝英台》。同年，周恩來總理在日內瓦會議放映，出現了「戲曲外交」這一開天闢地行為，享譽海內外。之後，各種越劇團體在世界各地演出，涉及《西廂記》、《紅樓夢》、《梁山伯與祝英台》、《狸貓換太子》等。

因此，中國人民大學、全國政協京昆室、中國外文局順應時代潮流，切實理解翻譯政策，貫徹落實文化「走出去」，創新越劇「走出去」新模式。

（二）初始規範

初始規範指譯者對文本的翻譯方法及策略。根據源語文化傾向或目標文化傾向，來採用「充分性」或「接受性」進行翻譯。石譯《越劇：梁山伯與祝英台》中的翻譯方法及策略，大部分由其主編或中國人民大學決定，具體文本翻譯過程中正文介紹、劇本翻譯及注釋等翻譯主要由譯者決定。

這套書針對的讀者是對中國傳統文化有興趣、有一定英語閱讀能力的讀者。所以初始規範傾向於目標文化背景讀者，石譯梁祝採取了「接受性」的翻譯方法及策略。蘇珊・巴斯奈特認為可表演性（2002：126）在戲劇翻譯文本中至關重要，戲曲表演中會出現重音、高音、吟誦等非文本表達，這些很難通過文本表達出來，翻譯更難把原汁原味一覽無遺。

石譯版本中，正文以介紹性質為主，介紹了越劇及梁祝劇本起源，海內外影響、表演形式與越劇文化，從宏觀角度切入，超過了傳統微觀劇本翻譯。西方國家對於梁祝故事，總是會提起《羅密歐與茱麗葉》，這即是

一個突破點又是刻板印象,突破了中西方悲劇故事的相同點,激發西方讀者觀眾對於梁祝故事的強烈興趣,刻板印象在於梁祝悲劇始於封建社會,將中國封建傳統思想展現給西方。呈現給西方讀者的梁祝往往只有故事情節,最終雙雙「化蝶」的結局。而叢書主編何其莘和中國人民大學進行了詳細的受眾調研,用一種外國人能夠接受的方式即編譯,只要能達到傳播中國文化,國學文化的作用就可以採用。石逸莉教授在美國任教多年,接觸的正是針對性的讀者,所以她十分清楚讀者需求及接受度,在劇本翻譯中出現的專業性或具有中國特色的詞彙以章節附註形式,讓讀者瞭解到具體意思。

由此看出,越劇「走出去」的初始規範發揮的作用不容小覷,譯者和主編甚至組織考慮的特定語境以及讀者受眾極大程度決定了翻譯策略傾向。

（三）期待規範

賈斯特曼的期待規範從不同角度,包含了圖裡的預備規範和初始規範,其認為圖裡的這兩種規範對於讀者考慮的因素有所欠缺,而且圖裡三種翻譯規範的關係是平等的,但是賈斯特曼這兩種翻譯規範關係體現為:期待規範制約著專業規範。它從目的語言的讀者期待角度出發,探究顯性和隱性翻譯的選擇。目的語環境中,極為盛行的翻譯傳統,會通過文本不同意識形態,權力之間的關係等來決定。《牡丹亭》的譯本一共有三種,其中海外最為著名的為漢學家白之所譯,他將劇本中原有複雜隱晦的詞彙,句子表達等一一闡釋給讀者,他也在隱喻雙關上進行了創造性叛逆(謝天振,2007:73),從根本上引起了讀者興趣,戲曲中許多暗語、反復都得到了再現,讓西方讀者能夠深入理解文章中的文化含義。石逸莉教授也採取了類似的翻譯策略,在介紹劇本本身的韻律美時,通過中文、拼音、英文三重結構,直譯韻律,通過陌生化,分析梁祝甚至越劇之韻律美。還有在翻譯劇本時,涉及中國特色詞彙,儘量選擇了直譯,最後在章節附註時逐一解釋當時文化背景產生這種現象的原因。請看例句:

原文:應該是描龍繡鳳在閨門

譯文:Who is supposed to learn to embroider dragon and phoenix in her room.

章節附註:In the old Chinese tradition, girls were supposed to stay at home and to learn needlework such as embroidery; girls were not supposed to leave home and to be exposed to the outside world, let alone go to school to study.

石逸莉教授在翻譯「描龍繡鳳」時使用直譯,直接將原文的意思傳遞給讀者,也提前預想到了讀者對此產生疑問,她便在章節附註處細細闡釋「描龍繡鳳」是古代中國女子「應該做」之事,也傳遞出當時祝英台想去讀書這一想法不被認可這一現實,更深層表達出古代中國女子的刻板印象,以及對她們求學上進的限制。以上這種章節附註共有 43 處,全面向讀者解析了中國特色詞彙來源,以及背後的典故與延伸。

她還簡單介紹了其他越劇劇本和情節、流派、主要表演者,關於舞臺效果、藝術形式、服飾等專業術語。這完全可以說是越劇外譯的「小百科」,面面俱到。既滿足讀者對中國文化的期待,帶有東方韻味,又極大程度保留了原文準確度。

四、結論與啟發

「絕對必要的概念」(Hermans,1999:165)即翻譯規範,在不同時期不同文化背景下,隨著產生不同的變化。圖裡和賈斯特曼的翻譯規範都有自己的優劣之處,筆者認為可結合應用,根據不同受眾採取不同的翻譯規範。越劇是中國傳統文化的一張最重要的名片,越劇故事如何傳達給目標讀者,成為了越劇「走出去」一道難以跨越的瓶頸。戲曲專家、戲劇劇團等都在極力探索創新性譯介模式,而大多局限于劇本翻譯本身,

沒有介紹更多的歷史背景及行話等。而石譯版的《梁山伯與祝英台》,極具特色的創新譯介模式,通過預備規範、初始規範和期待規範視角影響著梁祝乃至越劇故事「走出去」。譯者充分瞭解目的語受眾喜好的方式,根據當下的翻譯政策,選擇恰如其分的翻譯策略,最終文本表現出明顯的「接受性」,影響了譯本語言表現上的獨特風格和顯著特徵,從而打破越劇譯介模式固有化的困境,同時也給越劇「走出去」開闢了一條新道路。本文章又具有一定的不足之處,可從具體的操作規範和專業規範進行研究,通過採訪,溝通之類的方式與出版社,中國人民大學的何其莘教授瞭解其翻譯過程的具體方法。翻譯規範不僅影響著梁祝故事,還影響著其他越劇的譯介,這也為提高中國文化軟實力提供了良好的契機,筆者希望翻譯規範視角能夠為中國越劇譯介新模式提供新的方法或途徑。

注釋

① 人大新聞. https：//news. ruc. edu. cn/archives/5602。

② 人大新聞. https：//news. ruc. edu. cn/archives/40660。

③ 人大新聞. https：//news. ruc. edu. cn/archives/5602。

④ 中華人民共和國教育部. http：//www. moe. gov. cn/jyb_xwfb/s6192/s133/s135/201004/t20100419_83780. html。

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(Editors: LIU Min & Joe ZHANG)

[Cultural Studies]

A Comparative Study on Multimodal Metaphors in the Front Pages of Chinese and Western Mainstream Newspapers:
The Case of *China Daily* and *The Economist*

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Abstract: The study of metaphor has a long history. Traditional metaphor theories focus on metaphor as merely a figure of speech. In cognitive linguistics, researchers believe that metaphor is not only a linguistic rhetoric phenomenon, but a fundamental and universal cognitive way for human beings to understand the world. With the development of the Internet age, multimodal information is becoming increasingly abundant, thus more attention has been paid to the study of multimodal metaphor. However, there are few studies on multimodal metaphor in the context of cultural differences between China and the West at present. Therefore, this paper takes the multimodal metaphors embodied in the images and words reflected on the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist* as data to analyze the different ideologies and cultural values reflected in them. This comparative study analyzes the similarities and differences between the multimodal metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*. It is found that the front pages of *China Daily* contain more traditional Chinese cultural elements, and tend to convey positive values, while the multimodal metaphors in *The Economist* often have abundant connotations, indicating a more political and sarcastic tone. Meanwhile, the reasons for the different choices of images are analyzed from three aspects: ideology, culture and context, thus providing some enlightenment on how to further enhance cultural confidence and better construct China's national image for domestic media.

Keywords: multimodal metaphor; critical metaphor analysis; front pages of *China Daily*; front pages of *The Economist*; cultural confidence

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1   Introduction

The study of metaphor has a long history that can be traced back to ancient Greece. Philosophers and rhetoricians at that time considered metaphor as a "temporary self-explanatory change in the usage of a general or singular term" (Hills 2017: 5). In the 1980s, the rise and development of cognitive linguistics changed people's cognition of metaphor from simply a figure of speech to a mode of thought (Lee 2001; Croft & Cruse 2004). Andrew Ortony's *Metaphor and Thought* (1979) as well as Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) laid the foundation for analyzing metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon (Forceville 2009).

As metaphor can be found in various modes rather than language alone, metaphor scholars, notably Forceville, put forward the theory of multimodal metaphor. In the age of the Internet, people have to deal with much information in a variety of modes (Ma & Gao 2020). As a result, multimodal metaphor analysis has become a popular research topic, mainly focusing on advertisements, political cartoons, movies, etc., which are composed of images, words, sounds and other symbols and modes (Zhong & Li 2014). These studies, conducted from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, may contribute to a better understanding of how modern people think and behave (Pan 2011).

In recent years, as China has gradually intensified its publicity efforts to the international society, multimodal metaphor analysis has also been used to analyze the national image. Some scholars have taken the national publicity films as cases to explore the construction of China's national image (Zhang 2013; Zeng & Liang 2017; Yin 2018). At the same time, the coverage of China by the international mainstream media is gradually increasing with China's growing influence on the international stage. However, inadequate attention has been paid to the comparative study of metaphors between Chinese and Western media. Thus, this paper takes *China Daily* and *The Economist* as its research objects to analyze multimodal metaphors embodied in various images and words on their front pages and further explore different ideologies and cultural values reflected by the multimodal metaphors.

Two main objectives are expected to be achieved through this study: firstly, to classify and interpret the metaphors embodied in the images and words on the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*; secondly, to disclose through comparative analysis the reasons why the images are chosen on the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*.

Based on the findings, the significance of this research can be revealed both theoretically and practically. For one thing, it will fill the gap that there is scant research on the comparative study of the multimodal metaphors reflected in Chinese and Western mainstream newspapers. For another thing, by comparing multimodal metaphors reflected in *China Daily* and *The Economist*, this study tries to provide a new perspective on constructing China's national image, which aims to offer some implications for Chinese culture promotion, further strengthening cultural confidence and building a strong nation of socialist culture.

2   Review of the Related Literature

2. 1   *Multimodal metaphor*

In July 2005, the Ninth International Pragmatics Conference held in Italy gathered a number of elite scholars who had made remarkable achievements in related fields to discuss multimodal metaphor, directly leading to the milestone publication of *Multimodal Metaphor*. This collection of 18 papers, edited by Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, focuses on the study of multimodal metaphors applied in advertisements, comic books, cartoons, music scores, oral conversations, lectures, movies, etc. Main research perspectives involve the genre features of multimodal metaphor, distinctive features of multimodal metaphor, the relationship between metaphor and metonymy, etc.

The study of multimodal metaphor also provides a new paradigm in the context of interdisciplinary research. In the field of advertising, multimodal metaphor analysis has been used to study the construction of the brand image in commercial advertising and public service advertising (Koller 2014; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi 2009). There is also much multimodal metaphor research on political satirical comics, social comics, etc. (El Refaie 2003; Schilperhoord & Maes 2009; Shinohara & Matsunaka 2009). When it comes to music, Zbikowski (2009) studied how music and language construct thought by using various examples of musical passages, showing how music serves as a source domain for a multimodal metaphor.

So far, there has been an upsurge of multimodal metaphor research conducted by scholars abroad, but the research of multimodal metaphor in the framework of cognitive linguistics at home started relatively late. Zeng (2004) is the first study in China focusing on multimodal metaphor from the perspective of semantic conflicts. Since then, research of multimodal metaphor has been gradually expanded to other fields, such as print advertising (Lan & Cai 2013; Zhao & Xie 2020) and political comics, including the composition, identification and interpretation of multimodal metaphors with examples (Yu 2013). Moreover, with the framework of systemic functional theory, Feng (2011) attempts to provide a new perspective for the construction and classification of multimodal metaphors. He proposes a multimodal metaphor model (Figure 1) by mapping the relationship between text and image. In this modal, A1 and B1 are the target and source domains in text respectively, and A2 and B2 are the target and source domains in image respectively.
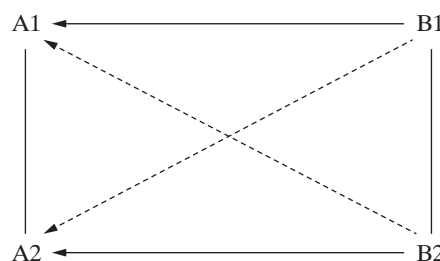

Figure 1: Multimodal metaphor mapping model by Feng Dezheng

In this multimodal metaphor mapping model, we can analyze four different mapping relationships: (1) A1B1 and A2B2 single-modal metaphors, (2) A1B2 and A2B1 multimodal metaphors, (3) A1B1B2, A1B1A2, A1B2A1 and A2B2A1 multimodal metaphors, (4) A1B1 and A2B2 multimodal metaphors, which helps to achieve a more comprehensive interpretation of the construction of multimodal metaphor.

2.2 Critical metaphor analysis (CMA)

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is a method of metaphor analysis aiming to reveal the implied intention and ideology of language users (Charteris-Black 2004) as well as the conceptual nature of metaphor (Agbo et al. 2018). It is a new and effective supplementary method to study the relationship among language, thought and social context (Ji & Chen 2007). Charteris-Black (2004) points out that the study of metaphor should take the pragmatic feature into consideration since metaphor uses a simple meaning to connect two different components that are absent in different contexts. Therefore, metaphor is no longer the simple transfer between words, but the exchange of ideas, or interaction between contexts (Zhao 2010).

Studies of CMA abroad generally focus on the function of metaphor (Carver & Pikalo 2008), the relationship between metaphor and discourse sociality (Koller 2005), research of metaphor and ideology (Goatly 2007), etc. Meanwhile, the research on CMA is also diversified at home, covering different areas including metaphor and political discourse (Feng 2013), research on metaphor corpus (Yan & Li 2010), image construction through CMA (Chen 2014), policy discourse analysis based on CMA (Tang 2016), etc.

It is worth mentioning that though a number of studies have been done on multimodal metaphor, there is still no systematic critical method to analyze multimodal metaphor. To fill the gap between CMA and multimodal metaphor research, Bai (2017) put forward the Critical Multimodal Metaphor Analysis (CMMA). According to him, to identify multimodal metaphors, it needs not only to recognize the pictorial and verbal metaphorical meaning, but also to consider the information beyond the text. While interpreting multimodal metaphors, it is necessary to determine the specific characteristics projected from the source domains to the target domains. Moreover, three ideological functions will be involved in explaining multimodal metaphors: the function of information selection, the function of evaluation and the function of arousing emotions.

3　Theoretical Basis

The analysis of multimodal metaphor is based on conceptual metaphor analysis. However, since the multimodal metaphor contains a variety of modes, conveying different information which often needs to be integrated to express the complete metaphorical meaning, the multimodal metaphor integration model has been put forward, which can more directly reveal the working mechanism of multimodal metaphor. The analysis of multimodal metaphor in this comparative study is also based on the mechanism embodied in this integration model. In addition, the whole analysis process adopts three steps suggested by Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), namely, metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation.

3.1 Conceptual metaphor

Early in ancient Greece, Aristotle defined metaphor as "borrowing or transference of a concept from a domain in which it is familiar and well defined, for redeployment in one in which it is novel, unfamiliar, or 'improper'" (Hills 2017: 6). Then pushed by the development of cognitive linguistics, the theory of conceptual metaphor was put forward. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) point out in *Metaphors We Live By* that metaphor is not simply a figure of speech, but that "thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" and the essence of metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another".

Metaphor contains the comparison between two concepts in that one is constructed in terms of the other. There are two kinds of domain in conceptual metaphor: one is the target domain, which is what is described by the metaphor, the other is the source domain, referring to what we use to describe the experience. The metaphorical process of two concepts (A and B) is realized due to a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target and such a process between the source domain and the target domain is analyzed as "mapping". Thus, the mapping process must contain two different things while they must have something in common. For example, LOVE IS JOURNEY (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) is a classic metaphor in conceptual metaphor research. Lovers may suffer setbacks in their relationship as companions may encounter difficulties in their travel. Based on the common features, JOURNEY, as the source domain, is used to help understand LOVE, the target domain.
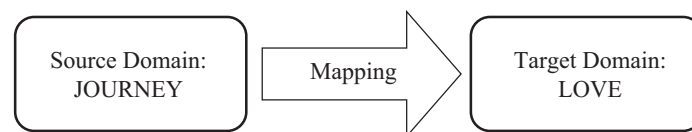
Figure 2: Mapping of conceptual metaphor

3.2 Multimodal metaphor

Forceville (2009: 4), the founder of the theory of multimodal metaphor, defined multimodal metaphor as "a metaphor whose target and source rendered exclusively or predominantly in two different modes/modalities". However, to study multimodal metaphor, it is necessary to make clear what mode or modality is. Zhu (2007) stated that mode refers to the channel and medium of information exchange, including language, technology, image, music and other symbol systems. Kress (2009: 54) defined mode as "a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning". According to Forceville (2009: 22), the model is a "sign system" that can be interpreted by using specific perceptual process, and it can be divided into the following categories: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes and touch.

According to the characteristics of multimodal discourse and the related factors of multimodal discourse, Zhao (2013) proposed a multimodal metaphor integration model based on the conceptual integration model put forward by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Figure 3, translated from the Chinese version of Zhao's integration model, clearly shows how this model works (The S and T in the boxes represent the source domain and the target

domain respectively):
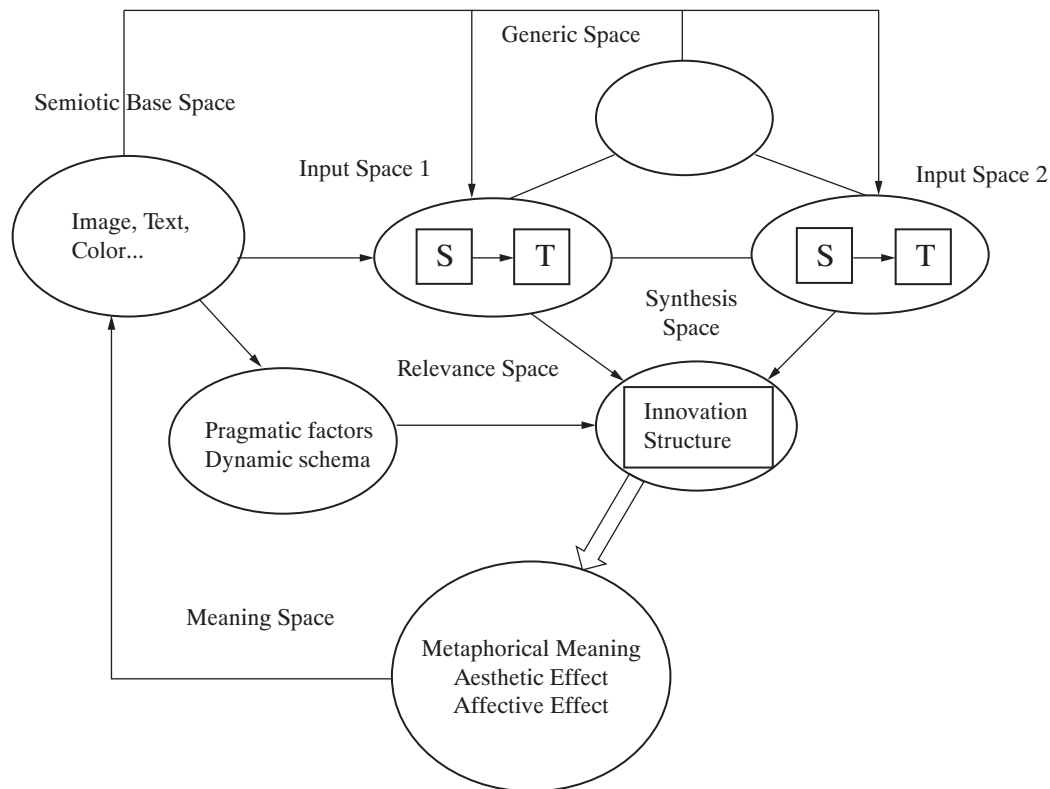
Figure 3: Integration model of multimodal metaphor

In this model, the multi-level spatial mapping and interaction between symbols are integrated into a complete system, highlighting the dynamic generation process of conceptual meaning, affective effect and aesthetic effect of a multimodal metaphor. For example, the relevance space in this model contains all kinds of pragmatic information, including the subject and carrier of communication, social cognition, cultural value, etc. , which are directly related to the construction and generation of multimodal metaphor, making the meaning of multimodal metaphor more complete. In the process of analyzing multimodal metaphor in this paper, many social background factors are considered, which is also based on the relevance space in this model.

3. 3   *Critical metaphor analysis (CMA)*

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) uses the research methods of corpus analysis, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics to analyze the linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive characteristics of metaphor, and reveals the beliefs, attitudes and feelings of the discourse group.

CMA adopts corpus to identify metaphor, interprets metaphor from pragmatic and cognitive perspectives, and determines its ideological and rhetorical basis by analyzing its discourse function. There are three steps to analyze a metaphor in CMA: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation.

In terms of metaphor identification, Charteris-Black (2004) suggested that to identify a metaphor, reading texts carefully is necessary so that the hidden candidate metaphor can be found. And then by putting the metaphorical keywords into a certain corpus context, readers can distinguish whether they are literal or

metaphorical. Metaphor interpretation requires identifying conceptual metaphors as well as connecting the metaphors and the determining cognitive factors. Metaphor explanation is to analyze the persuasive function in realizing social goals.

4 Methodology

4.1 Research questions

The objectives of this research are to classify and interpret the metaphors reflected in the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*, as well as to disclose the reasons why the images are chosen. To achieve these objectives, three research questions are put forward in this research:

(1) What conceptual metaphors are embodied in the images on the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist* on the topics of China, COVID-19 pandemic and China-U. S. relationship respectively?

(2) What are the similarities and differences in the features and ideological functions of these conceptual metaphors on each topic between *China Daily* and *The Economist*?

(3) What are the factors that influence the choice of images in *China Daily* and *The Economist*?

4.2 Data

The research chose *China Daily (Global Weekly)* and *The Economist* as the representative newspapers of domestic and Western mainstream media. For one thing, as one of the world's most influential newspapers, *The Economist* launched a China column in 2012. It is worth noting that *The Economist* only opened up columns for two countries — the last one is the U. S. early in 1942, which to some extent represents the increasing attention that Western mainstream media pay to China. For another, as the only national English language daily in China, *China Daily* plays the role of an important window for the world to understand China. With the highest reprint rate among foreign media, it has effectively entered the international society, introducing China to readers globally.

In this paper, data was collected from the Internet, mainly including the website of *China Daily* (http://newspress.chinadaily.net.cn/), the Weibo account of Min Li (https://weibo.com/u/1990450131), illustrator of *China Daily*, and the website of *The Economist* (http://www.economist.com/printedition/covers). It should be noted that *The Economist* is published in different areas of the world; however, the different regional editions contain the same content (there are three extra pages of Britain stories in the Britain edition), just in a separate order, and rarely with other covers. This study only deals with the global uniform front pages; thus, different editions have no impact on this study. In comparison, there is only one overseas edition of *China Daily*, named *China Daily (Global Weekly)*. Therefore, *China Daily* is taken as the abbreviation in the whole paper.

Ten front pages in total (five for each newspaper) dated from 2019－2020 that are rich in metaphors are selected to build the corpus of this research. The pages are mainly around three topics: the development of China

(including economy, science and technology), China-U. S. relationship and the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to China's growing influence on the international stage, all kinds of media coverage on China's development are increasingly comprehensive, involving political, economic, cultural and other aspects. Additionally, the trade disputes between China and the United States and the COVID-19 have become the main topics for the year 2019 and 2020. Therefore, these three topics constitute the significant focuses of both *China Daily* and *The Economist* in 2019-2020, which are conducive to making a comparative study. The comparative analysis of multimodal metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist* will be discussed according to the three main steps suggested by the approach of CMA and CMMA: multimodal metaphor identification, interpretation and explanation.

5   Data Analysis and Discussion

The comparative analysis follows three steps: the identification of multimodal metaphors, mainly including the classification of images involved in this paper; the interpretation of multimodal metaphors, including the comparative analysis of the two newspapers aiming at the same topic; the explanation of multimodal metaphors, including the multimodal metaphor comparison between *China Daily* and *The Economist*, as well as the analysis of the factors influencing the image selection.

There are mainly 40 images from ten front pages chosen in this study, which can be generally divided into nine kinds of conceptual metaphors, involving human being metaphor, animal metaphor, transport metaphor, plant metaphor, object metaphor, landscape metaphor, color metaphor, organ metaphor, and virus metaphor (Table 1).

Since metaphor is essentially a cognitive process based on human experience, individuals may have various understandings of the multimodal metaphors analyzed in this paper. Therefore, the author's subjectivity to some extent inevitably influences the classification and interpretation of multimodal metaphors in this research.

Conceptual Metaphors	Subordinate images
Human being metaphor	
Animal metaphor	Panda
	Phoenix
	Magpie
	Sika deer
	Lion
Transport metaphor	Airplane
	Ship
Landscape metaphor	Oriental Pearl Tower

Conceptual Metaphors	Subordinate images
Virus metaphor	COVID-19 virus
Plant metaphor	Flower
Object metaphor	Globe
	National flag
	Moon
	Fire
	Jewel
	Robot
	Gears
	Silk
Organ metaphor	Eye
Color metaphor	Red

Table 1: Distribution of conceptual metaphors in the corpora

The multimodal metaphors reflected in the pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist* are mainly pictorial and written signs. According to the multimodal metaphor integration model by Zhao (2013), the integration process includes generic space, input space, relevance space and synthesis space, which are combined to form the meaning space of multimodal discourse. The input space is divided into two parts: image and text. The input space itself needs to go through the metaphor mapping to its respective target domain, and then carry out the selective mapping between the two domains so as to reach the synthesis paper space and produce the innovation structure. Also, the relevance space contains pragmatic information, which directly relates to the construction of multimodal metaphor. Therefore, in the interpretation of multimodal metaphor, cognitive factors, cultural factors, background and other relevant information should be considered to get a relatively objective integrated metaphorical meaning.

5. 1 *Multimodal metaphors reflected in the front pages about the COVID-19 pandemic*

The "COVID-19" became a keyword of 2020. BBC reported that the Oxford English Dictionary by Oxford University Press, has selected "COVID-19" as a keyword for the unprecedented 2020. As a result, the COVID-19 also becomes a crucial topic in the mainstream media at home and abroad.

On the front page of *China Daily* (Figure 4), people in traditional costumes and the representative flowers are used to map onto three countries: Qipao, kimono and Hanbok are traditional national clothing of China, Japan and South Korea. Similarly, Cherry Blossom and hibiscus are the national flowers of Japan and South Korea, and peony is one of the top ten flowers in China. Moreover, the magpie is a symbol of good fortune in traditional Chinese culture, expressing good wishes under the pandemic situation. With the pictorial and verbal information combined, the metaphorical meaning is that people from China, Japan and South Korea helped each
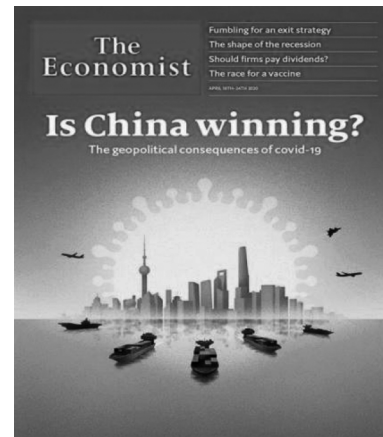
Figure 4

Figure 5

other while fighting against the pandemic. At the same time, it also suggests that people around the world should unite to battle against the pandemic.

On the front page of *The Economist* (Figure 5), the landscape of Shanghai, the Oriental Pearl Tower, represents China. The sailing ships and flying airplanes are symbols of the recovery and prosperity of China after the pandemic. The sun should be the symbol of hope. However, here a virus-shaped sun is ironic to some extent. Combing the interrogative text "Is China winning", it shows Western's doubt and skeptical attitude towards China's achievements in fighting against the pandemic.

5.2 Multimodal metaphors reflected in the front pages about China's 5G technology

On May 15, 2019, the U.S. Department of Commerce said that Huawei and its 70 affiliated enterprises would be included in the "Entity List", which means that Huawei will not be able to buy components from American enterprises without the approval of the U.S. government. Then on July 14, 2020, the British government decided to ban its mobile operators from purchasing Huawei 5G equipment from 2021 and exclude Huawei from the U.K. 5G equipment supply before 2027. Therefore, the topic of technology represented by 5G and Huawei has also been discussed by both domestic and Western media.

The pictorial presentation in Figure 6 uses a Chinese woman and a panda, a British woman and a lion to represent China and the U.K. respectively. Furthermore, there is a bunch of flowers in a vase held by the Chinese woman, which extends up to the British woman who is touching the flower. Animal metaphors are usually the common choice to represent a country. The giant panda is the "national treasure" of China, which is often used by domestic and Western media to represent China. There are three main reasons: first of all, the giant panda inhabits only in China, and is famous for its rarity in the world. Secondly, the giant panda is also a symbol of China's diplomacy, or more accurately, a barometer. Since 1936, the government of the Republic of China has begun to present giant pandas to diplomatic countries. After 1949, especially after the thawing of Sino-U.S. relations in 1972, within two years, the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France and other Western countries all received a pair of giant pandas from China. Furthermore, thanks to the naive and unaggressive image of the giant panda, it receives welcome and love from people around the world. Similarly, the lion is also the treasure of the U.K. Since Medieval England, the lion has been regarded as a symbol of the

Figure 6

Figure 7

majesty of the British royalty. During the reign of Henry II, three lions were depicted on the British royal weapons. The front page also uses flowers to connect two women, which clearly symbolize a kind of connection between China and the U. K.

The pictorial presentation on *The Economist*'s front page is relatively concise (Figure 7), with a big national flag of China occupying the whole page. However, a staring eye is deposited in the middle of the biggest star, connoting that China is using its 5G to spy on other Western countries. The verbal information strengthens this view, alluding that the Western countries possess no trust in China while with the fast development of China, they have to find a way to do business with China.

5.3 *Multimodal metaphors in the front pages about Sino-U. S. relations*

China-U. S. relations have been one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world today. Especially, the trade war between China and America has been a crucial issue of Sino-U. S. relations. In essence, the current contradictions and problems between China and the United States are the disputes between multilateralism and unilateralism, justice and hegemonic power, and the world for the public and the priority of the United States (People's Daily 2020). China has always been not interested in seeking hegemony, but committed to maintaining multilateralism, fairness and justice. The United States has taken unilateralist measures and provoked a trade war, which has led to the escalation of trade frictions and disputes between China and the United States.

On the front page of *China Daily* (Figure 8), five people in four different skin colors, with different national flowers in their hands, represent five continents, or the world's peoples. A sika deer is in the middle of the picture, which is the symbol of auspiciousness in traditional Chinese culture. Sika deer is one of the mascots in ancient China. Moreover, it also has the meaning of "power". Since ancient times, deer was the prey that people used to chase. Therefore, when people see the ruling class fighting for power, they naturally associate with the situation of chasing deer in daily life, so that deer then becomes a metaphor for power. Here, the deer and people are encircled with a piece of silk, combing the verbal text, which denotes China's position on safeguarding multilateralism in its foreign policy.
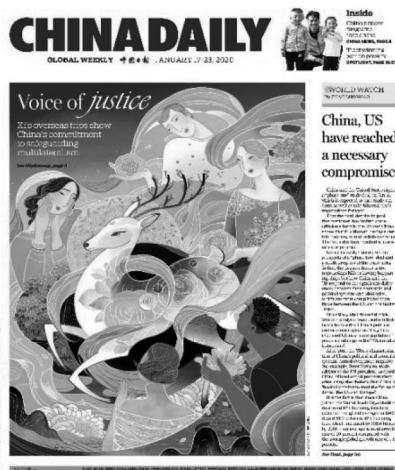
Figure 8

Figure 9

On the front page of *The Economist* (Figure 9), a globe refers to the whole world. The national flags of China and the U. S. are at the poles of the globe, which suggests that China and the U. S. are two major powers in the world. The textual information "break-up" refers to the trade war between China and the United States.

All of the multimodal metaphors in this research are reflected by the images chosen on the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*. By comparison, it is found that there are some similarities in the image selection by these two media. For one thing, both of them prefer to use the well-known panda to refer to China, which also benefits from China's "panda diplomacy". As an ambassador of friendship, the panda has always been given to other countries or regions as gifts, which has made indelible contributions to the development of friendly relations with foreign countries. Therefore, it is well known and recognized by people all over the world and becomes one of the symbols of China. For another thing, the media mostly choose red as the primary color when it comes to China. Red is the favorite color of the Chinese nation, representing festivity, auspiciousness, and harmony. The national flag of China is also set in red, which shows that "China Red" has become the cultural totem and spiritual embodiment of Chinese people.

The differences in the choice of images are more evident between these two media. First of all, *China Daily* mainly uses people to represent each country or race. The front pages of *China Daily* chosen in this paper all include human metaphors. By comparison, *The Economist* prefers to choose animals or objects as the reference of a country. Second, most of the metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* are intuitive and easy to understand, while metaphors in *The Economist* are often more indirect and obscure. Thirdly, the metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* are primarily positive and optimistic, communicating the idea of harmonious coexistence. In contrast, the metaphors in *The Economist* are more ironic and political. Finally, most of the metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* contain many elements of traditional Chinese culture, while *The Economist* usually only uses common, well-known images to represent China and express connotations.

According to the discourse model for metaphor put forward by Charteris-Black (2004), both individual and social factors can influence the choice of metaphor. Fang (2018) viewed that culture, time and context will influence the selection and understanding of the source domain of metaphor in cognitive linguistics.

Therefore, the paper chooses three main factors: ideology, culture and context to analyze the choice of

images in *China Daily* and *The Economist*.

First of all, in terms of ideology, *Collins Cobuild (3rd Edition)* defines ideology as "a set of beliefs, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties, or countries base their nation". Contemporary China pursues the ideology of socialist society, while America is a capitalist society and "liberalism" has always been the mainstream. The essential difference between these fundamentally determines the different values conveyed in multimodal discourse, thus affecting the choice of images. For example, the multimodal metaphors in *China Daily* tell that different countries, such as China, Japan, and South Korea, work together to fight the pandemic, and that people all over the world live in harmony. While the metaphors in *The Economist* often express unilateralism and liberalism values through elements such as the poles of the globe.

Secondly, culture is also a critical perspective to choose metaphor. Lakoff (1980) viewed that metaphor may exist in different levels of abstraction (if there is a metaphor in certain language domains). Conceptual metaphor is most likely to arise from cultural or linguistic conventions. The United States is a country composed of immigrants. Thus, the American people attach great importance to independent individuals. The "American Dream" emphasizes that people can get a better life through their own efforts. By contrast, China is an ancient country with a long history, and has formed a culture that emphasizes stability and harmony. Thus, social interests are always valued higher than individual interests. Various traditional Chinese elements can be seen in the multimodal metaphors' design in *China Daily*, which is also a presentation of cultural confidence.

Thirdly, Forceville (2008) pointed out that situational context plays a dominant role in metaphor. Context is a relative dynamic factor that will influence the choice of metaphor. Metaphor is the result of explaining the reader's own thoughts in the process of seeking the best relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1986). When the scope of the signifier is broad, it must be put in a specific context to judge the corresponding relationship between the signifier and the signified. In terms of the front page of media, the specific contexts refer to the current affairs or significant events at home and abroad. In *China Daily* and *The Economist*, there are many topics related to current affairs, such as the China-U. S. trade war, COVID-19, the U. S. sanctions against Huawei, etc. In these contexts, the two newspapers choose different images to express their views and attitudes, which will also give readers different impressions and cause different emotions.

6　Conclusion

The present study selects ten front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist* to conduct a comparative analysis of multimodal metaphors. Altogether, forty images, classified into nine categories, are identified, of which human beings and objects are often the source domain of multimodal metaphors.

The similarities and differences between *China Daily* and *The Economist* are then analyzed by comparing their choices of front-page images. It is found that both of them tend to choose images with distinct Chinese characteristics such as "panda" and "red" to represent China, which to some extent indicates that more diversified Chinese culture needs to be integrated into international communication, breaking the traditional stereotype of China.

As for the differences, *China Daily* contains more human being metaphors and many traditional Chinese cultural elements, which are always simple to understand and transmit positive values. Also, these cultural

elements promote the Chinese culture to spread overseas so that people in other countries in the world can understand and be more familiar with it. In contrast, object metaphors and animal metaphors are more common in *The Economist*, which also contains more profound, ironic, and political meaning.

Furthermore, it is found that the metaphorical expressions of *China Daily* and *The Economist* have different styles, representing different social values. In *China Daily*, a number of multimodal metaphors express the values of China's great harmony and multilateralism, while in *The Economist*, expressions of power politics are not difficult to find. Such discrepancies are caused by the essential differences between socialist and capitalist ideologies, the differences in values between collectivism and individualism, and the influence of current events as well as other contexts. Since the core of a culture is its value, cultural communication is essentially the interaction of different values. Therefore, it is crucial to make people in other countries understand and appreciate Chinese values.

In the past few years, China has made great efforts to strengthen its cultural confidence and promote the construction of socialist cultural power. With the overseas promotion of Chinese culture, traditional Chinese culture is increasingly recognizedby the world. Through the comparative study of the multimodal metaphors in the front pages of *China Daily* and *The Economist*, this research puts forward some inspiration for domestic international communication media in terms of the construction of China's national image.

The Chinese nation has a profound cultural tradition and has formed a distinctive ideological system, which embodies the knowledge, wisdom and rational speculation accumulated by the Chinese people for thousands of years, thus Chinese culture should be promoted through more diversified ways by domestic media and research on the promotion of traditional Chinese culture from different perspectives should also be carried out. Additionally, to strengthen cultural confidence, embracing the cultures of all countries with an open and inclusive attitude is of great importance. The integration of various ethnic cultural elements also reflects the inclusiveness of Chinese culture as well as the values of cultural diversity and cultural harmony of the whole world. In that sense, more studies on the comparison of Chinese and Western cultures reflected by their mainstream media, by adopting a more systematic multimodal metaphor analysis methodology and with a larger sample size than that of the present study, should also be encouraged in future research.

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A Study of the Development Path of "Area Studies":

Taking the Construction of the Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies in Germany as an Example

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Abstract: Through the analysis of the construction of the Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies of Heidelberg University, this paper investigates how this innovative collaborative research institute assembles different faculties as well as international scholars and students from different disciplines and promotes interdisciplinary cooperation and further development of "interdisciplinary clusters" within universities; on the micro-level, the experience of HCTS was introduced in terms of diversified international enrollment models, scholar teams of diversified academic backgrounds and multi/interdisciplinary course structures, the creation of interdisciplinary "academic communities", overseas research and the construction of its funding guarantee system and digital research platform. This paper aims to provide a reference for the development path of "Country and Areas Studies" in China.

Keywords: country and areas studies; learning community; interdisciplinary community; Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies

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我國國別區域研究路徑發展微探
——以德國「海德堡跨文化中心」建設為例

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摘　要：本文通過對海德堡大學跨文化中心（HCTS）建設的剖析，介紹了德國海德堡大學內部如何在政策的支持下推動「跨學科集群」的成長，探索了超越院系的科研集群如何聚集不同學科、不同文化背景的國別區域研究人才、推動「跨學科」的協同合作；並在五大微觀層面，即多元化的國際招生模式、學科交叉的多元團隊和課程、跨學科「學術共同體」創建、海外調研及其經費保障體系和數字化平臺的建設方面介紹了 HCTS 的經驗，旨在為我國進入「交叉學科」時代的一級學科「國別區域學」在路徑發展上提供借鑒。

關鍵詞：國別區域學；學習共同體；交叉學科共同體；海德堡跨文化中心

一、海德堡跨文化研究中心的建立和發展

　　德國在推動組建大學內部的「跨學科集群」的起步較早，有著較為豐富的經驗。早在 2005 年，德國政府為鼓勵德國大學創新和增強實力啟動了「卓越計劃」（後改名為「精英計劃」），其中很大一部分資金就是流向「精英集群」團隊——即基於現有的頂尖科學成就的「交叉學科聯合體」。海德堡大學的「精英集群（Cluster of excellence）」之一——「全球背景下的亞洲與歐洲」這一區域研究的項目正是在政府大環境政策的推動和資助下成型，並成長為具有創新性的歐亞研究的智庫。[①]德國的「海德堡跨文化研究中心」（Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies，以下簡稱：HCTS），看似是致力於「文化研究」的科研機構，但其本質上正是一所跨區域研究的機構，它在探索「歐亞跨文化互動」的實踐中獲得不少經驗，可以給我國國別和區域研究在跨學科科研模式和人才培養方面提供一些啟示。[②]

　　2007 年，德國政府啟動的「卓越計劃」對「交叉學科聯合體」的政策和資助，剛好契合了海德堡大學當時一些來自東亞和南亞研究所的學者的想法。因為他們在科研實踐中已經意識到傳統的局限於「民族國家」為分析框架方法似乎已經很難再提供洞察力，開展「跨文化」「跨語言」和「學科交叉」的研究已是迫在眉睫。[③]在這樣的外部推動和內部困境的雙重影響下，海德堡大學這些來自不同研究領域的學者們起草了「亞洲和歐洲——文化流動的不對稱性」課題，成功地申請成為了「人文學與社會科學交叉的精英集群」（Elite cluster of Humanities and Social Sciences）之一。

　　海德堡跨文化研究中心（HCTS）的建立遵循了由下至上的探索路徑。在建設初期，中心依靠南亞和漢學研究所強大的科研實力和跨學科的背景，集群組織逐漸聚集了大約 200 名學者，整合幾個「小」系，發展出具有相當規模的大型研究項目，其中包括若幹研究小組、一個博士項目和一個碩士項目。2012 年，該集群組織成功申請到了德國政府提供的第二輪資助。隨著集群組織的不斷壯大，2013 年成立了「海德堡跨文化研究中心」。同年，在德國聯邦政府發起的「建立研究和教學的創新中心」的競賽中，HCTS、東亞研究中心

（Center for East Asian Studies）、南亞研究中心（South Asian Institute）以及人類學中心（Institute of Anthropology）共同倡議建立「亞洲和跨文化研究中心」（Centre for Asian and Transcultural Studies，以下簡稱：CATS）這一綜合性的研究機構，在多方研究和考察之後，這一倡議得到了首肯。

作為亞洲和跨文化研究中心（CATS）常駐的四大機構之一，海德堡跨文化研究中心（HCTS）本身不再只是一個孤立存在的示範性的科研集群項目，而是身處於擁有豐富的「亞洲研究」和「區域研究」相關資源的交叉學科平臺之中。舉例而言，CATS 集聚了 25 位亞洲區域研究的教授，提供 20 多種亞洲語言課程，客觀上成為了擁有隸屬於全歐洲最大的亞洲圖書館之一。因而，HCTS 能夠最大程度地利用海德堡大學的內部和外部資源，無論是在跨學科的研究課題、語言課程、碩博項目、校內外師資，還是在教學場地、圖書數字資源以及對外的媒體宣傳。雖然四大機構在法律、預算和管理上保持獨立和自主性，但 CATS 通過跨院系的合作協議，各機構選派代表組成 CATS 委員會以及定期的聯席會議機製，在科研和教學上把他們整合在了一起，保證四個機構密切地進行跨學科的對話和合作、資源共享，共同對全球化背景下的亞洲文化問題進行研究。

二、海德堡跨文化研究中心人才培養機製

海德堡跨文化研究中心（HCTS）致力於打破傳統的「學科分類」和「國家邊界」壁壘。該中心在科研探索和人才培養上實現了國別區域研究方面的「跨區域」（cross regional）、「跨文化」（cross-cultural）和「學科交叉」（interdisciplinary）三大特點。為了實現這樣的運行目標，研究中心采用了設立交叉學科平臺、多類型的國際化招生模式，以及多元化的課程設置等方式，確保國別區域研究的覆蓋面和專業性。

（一）多元化的國際招生模式

海德堡跨文化研究中心的招生製度是和集群的「願景」息息相關的。這種體製促進對歐亞內部和相互之間的多層次文化互動的理解。通過跨全球的生源讓更多的「非西方」的青年研究者參與到有關歐亞區域互動的知識生產和傳播中來，同時促進他們和本土研究者的交流互動，從而挑戰長期以來所謂「主流」、單一的「以西方化為中心」的敘事及其歷史化的解讀。

HCTS 在中心的碩博招生流程中，充分考慮到了團隊成員的多元性。和傳統的德國大學碩博項目不同，中心的授課和工作語言都是英語。在招生簡章中，要求候選人的英語水平達到歐盟語言水平能力測試級別 C1 的同時，還需至少掌握包括母語在內的兩門語言。這意味著它的課程和科研體系是面向國際生源和學者：歷屆的碩博生中不僅有來自歐洲國家，還有來自亞洲、美洲等各大洲的團隊成員。通過和德國學術交流中心（DAAD）的合作，博士項目在經濟上為國際生源提供了為期三年的獎學金，為非歐洲的生源保留了一半的名額，實現了來自研究對象國和本國人之間的數量上的平衡。

除了跨文化性之外，跨學科性也在招生工作中充分體現。HCTS 的碩博招生簡章僅僅規定了候選人專業背景的大類是人文或社科，而不是像我們常見的項目招生那樣具體到某一個特定的學科，比如歷史學、語言學、國際關係等。因而，其團隊成員的學科背景也非常豐富。他們在本科階段掌握了一門專業學科的綜合知識背景、在後續的碩博學習和訓練中培養跨學科的視野、掌握跨文化的理論和研究方法；他們彼此間的科研合作、課堂和課後的學術討論本身就是一種充滿碰撞和激發靈感的跨學科探索。同時，這種招生模式為構建學科交叉團隊打下很好的基礎。

（二）學科交叉的多元團隊和課程

海德堡跨文化研究中心（HCTS）的跨學科性、多元性不僅僅體現在生源上，更是體現在它的內部架構設

置上。從教學團隊來看,中心教職的設置不是單純以「學科」作為分類依據,而是根據研究團隊探索的方向不同分設了佛學研究、文化經濟史、全球藝術史、知識歷史、視覺和媒體人類學 5 個「終身教授」職位,並為人文、社會學科設了 2 個「啟動教授」職位。這些清一色致力於跨文化研究的教授都有兩種身份,既是某一學科或者研究主題的專家,又是某個區域或者國家的專家,他們有自己專註的跨區域研究重點,比如日本與歐洲、中國與歐洲、印度與歐洲等。在這 7 名教授的主持下,該中心的教學團隊為學生在學期期間開設了種類繁多、涉及多個研究領域 50 余門豐富的課程。在外語課程學習方面,學生可以選修亞洲和跨文化研究中心(CATS)開設的多達 20 門的亞洲語言課程,例如藏語、泰語梵語、巴利語、印度語等,這在語言上為學生們獨立開展第一手材料的閱讀和收集打下了基礎。此外,由海德堡大學不同學院代表組成了「跨文化研究聯合委員會」,借此負責為碩博生新設計開設的課程,並且保證了項目的可延續性。

在整個碩博項目中,學生可以與不同文化、學科背景的師長交流互動,在廣泛的課程選擇中進一步探索他們對「跨文化」的研究興趣,了解「跨文化」理論在不同領域的應用,並最終確立自己的研究方向。同時,學生們被賦予了充分的自主性,除了中心提供的課程,碩士生的學習模塊裏還包含了「Import」課程(外部導入課程);換言之,只要在和模塊負責人商討後確認「外部課程」符合學生的研究方向,他們就可以在中心之外的機構修讀課程並最終進行學分轉換,其中包括海德堡大學、東亞、南亞中心或是歐洲歷史和文化中心,或者是轉換在「海外學期」期間在其他大學獲得的學分。[④] 在畢業論文階段,學生也可以選擇在 2 名導師的帶領下來探索跨學科的難題。

博士生培養模式深刻體現了學科交叉的特點。中心將博士生編入下屬的一個個科研小組。每個小組由 1 名科研組長以及 10 多名學科背景、資歷深淺各不相同的博士生、博士後共同組成;這種多元化、扁平化的結構讓學生在日常的學習和科研活動中有大量機會跨越自己的學科,和不同文化背景的師生共同進行跨學科探索。以不同領域中的的「知識歷史」(Intellectual History)板塊為例,團隊負責人以漢學為背景的顧有信(J. Kurtz)教授負責的課題「東亞對歐洲過去的使用」是與馬德裏自治大學,倫敦政經學院和蘇黎世大學三位來自中國文學、政治學和全球史領域的教授共同合作的,其團隊的成員也分別是來自這三所大學的助理教授、科研人員以及博士生。[⑤] 來自不同國家和學科背景、科研資歷深淺不同的十位團隊成員在同一課題下交流與合作,通過共建學術博客、學術會議、研討課的形式克服了地域和文化上的距離,為跨學科間的合作提供了平臺。

此外,中心課題的「跨文化性和跨區域性」決定了各個科研團隊是不斷向外拓展的。他們出於課題本身的科研需要,積極地尋求和開展國際會合作:例如 2020—2021 年度,中心的 3 個領域的教授分別與國際知名學者開啟了時間長度為 6 個月到 4 年不等的合作,來自美國伊利諾大學、耶魯大學、復旦大學 3 名學前來海德堡 HCTS 參與日常授課、國際會議和長期的科研項目。[⑥] 正如 HCTS 的宗旨描述的那樣,通過邀請全世界的青年學者們將他們科研工作中一部分在 HCTS 完成,中心希望建立一個致力於跨文化研究的「國際化」的科研群體。

(三)海外調研及其經費保障體系

作為研究「跨文化過程/互動」的集群,海德堡跨文化研究中心(HCTS)極為註重收集和使用對象國語言編著的原始材料。因而,海外學期和調研也是其人才培養和科研的重中之重。通過海外學期和田野調查,學生能有擁有直接接觸該對象國和區域的經驗,能為他們當下的科研工作收集了第一手的資料,並對所研究的國家或地區在社會、文化、語言、歷史等方面的基本形態,有一定的認知和基本把握。中心的很多參與學位項目的博士生都曾表示,在實踐環節的工作、參加的國際學術報告和就讀期間建立的學術人脈網,對自己之後的科研工作有很大的幫助,同時在海外交流學習期間收集的材料以及認識的專家進一步激勵了他們

的繼續追求學術職業生涯的決心。[7]

他們所擁有的跨文化的海外經驗正是得益於中心靈活的課程設置。碩士項目在第三學期設置了「Mobility and Research」(移動和科研)模塊,意味著學生可以申請去海外合作院校完成共計 16 個學分的課程;博士項目也在第二學年為海訪學和實地田野調查留足了時間。此外,不僅僅局限於海外學習,學生也可以根據自己的科研興趣向課程負責人申請去海外做科研為導向的實習項目,例如德國駐海外使館,德國駐印度尼西亞阿登納基金會、文化機構等。通過這樣的「實地」收集事實的活動,學生們能夠在真實的當地情景中檢驗完善或者說是挑戰之前習得的「跨文化」的理論方法。與此同時,海外學習和調研的開展對於學生的一大難處就是資金支持。因而為了解決學生的後顧之憂,中心在經濟上提供了穩定的保障。例如,「海德堡 & 京都大學」合作的碩士項目提供每月 1260 歐元,為期長達 10 個月的獎學金;中心也為威尼斯大學、東北大學等一些其他大學的雙學位博士項目的學生,提供 1200 歐元每月為期 3—12 個月的獎學金。

(四)創建跨學科「學術共同體」

「學術共同體」的創建是海德堡跨文化研究中心(HCTS)的另一特色。除了「願景」的軟性感召力,「相互作用和共同參與」是維系這樣一個學科交叉的「學習共同體」其生命力的兩個重要特徵。HCTS 設計了合理的製度和培養方案來促進成員能共同投身於一個新興交叉領域。中心在第一學年就為碩博生開設了必修課程——由集群不同領域教授共同承擔的「跨文化導論」和「跨文化文獻」閱讀課,即介紹跨文化研究的方法、理論、歷史背景及其應用,並且配套了相應的關於「跨文化研究的跨學科路徑」的討論課(colloquium),為「新生」提供了對這一概念進行辨析和批判的空間。此外,中心的網站上共享了「集群」學者近年來出版的「跨文化系列」的數本不同領域的專著以及中心出版的「跨文化研究」公開的電子期刊,為中心的成員提供了豐富的學術資源,幫其了解「跨文化」研究方法在不同學科領域的應用。中心的各個研究小組還定期、自發組織日常學術活動,其中就包括「Jour Fixe」(固定展示日)、圓桌討論以及科學工作坊等形式。這些活動往往由 5 個領域的教授,研究小組組長或者中心以外的學者牽頭組織,向中心的碩博生以及所有科研人員開放。而博士生在此類活動中參與度也是其第三年資助申請中的考核指標之一。這樣的製度保證了他們在為期三年的博士項目學習中並非是獨自閉門深造,而是需要走出自己的學科和研究領域;同時還要和其他成員進行思想碰撞和對話,開展直接或者間接的合作,甚至可以看作他們相互之間的「一種精神交際、情感支持和共同意識」,以此達到從而相互啟發、鼓勵和促進的目的。

(五)共建共享數字化平臺的建設

作為信息技術時代的跨學科的學術共同體,海德堡跨文化研究中心(HCTS)在數字化平臺建設方面有著獨到的處理方式。與歐內斯特・L・博耶的高等教育思想體系中的「集體參與」[8]概念不同,HCTS 增添了實時數據共享和編輯的功能,因為跨學科、跨國的科研合作涉及到了隸屬於不同大學、學院、學科以及大學內部的大大小小的機構和學術群體,更涉及到他們之間對不同形式的科研資料的共享和加工,真正實現了「學習共同體」。為了推動這一共同體的成員間實時共享和合作, HCTS 初期就成了的致力於創建「數字人文」的虛擬平臺「海德堡研究架構」(The Heidelberg Research Architecture,簡稱:HRA)。HRA 與學校內部相關機構,比如圖書館、科學計算跨學科中心等部門的協調合作,在信息技術上保證了來自不同學科的學者們間的共同的學術研究,特別是人文學科和計算機學科的合作。HRA 通過采用計算機學科的方法來分析和編輯電子媒體數據,減少了不同機構收集和錄入信息的重復工作,實現數據共享,使得中心的學者們能快速獲得數據。平臺設立的一些數據資料庫已經被成員們廣泛使用,例如海德堡百科數據庫,現代中文科學術語數據庫等。此外,根據國際大數據的標準,HRA 已經開發的專為「聯合科研」設計的跨語種的大數據收集

和管理系統已經達到相關要求,通過專註於如何維護、轉移、更新和再構建這些網絡上日新月異的數據,該數據庫也符合未來的學者們長期使用的要求。例如在「中國海報收集」這個項目中,HRA整合了來自倫敦和海德堡的2500幅「中國海報」的收集,探索了快速電子化、歸類流程、大數據的轉化、基於註釋的數據提取的這一工作流程,促進了不同機構下的教學和科研中對這些數據的共享和使用。

三、海德堡跨文化研究中心的特點

海德堡跨文化研究中心的建立之初是基於一個政府資助的「精英集群」平臺,圍繞「歐洲和亞洲在全球框架下在文化上的互動」這一課題來探索和發展「跨文化」研究路徑。借力於聯邦政府對交叉學科的集群項目的政策和資金的支持逐漸成長。在發展的過程中結合了海德堡大學本身的學科特色,整合了本校和校外相關的多個學科教學和科研資源,例如本校強勢的東亞和南亞研究,從下至上探索新的跨學科平臺,並且隨著課題數量的增多和學術人員的增長,不斷壯大規模,最終成長為一個長期的跨學科中心。

其次,海德堡跨文化研究中心的從師生構成的角度上來看,HCTS的教師和學生團隊完全不拘泥於本國師生,而是具有高度的多元性和國際性。一方面,中心致力於邀請全世界對跨文化問題感興趣的不同領域的學者來中心進行長期或者短期的授課、訪學交流;另一方面,對學生的招生也打破了單一學科和國籍背景的束縛;師生團隊成員本身的多元化、國際化特質,也為跨學科、跨國界合作、多學科的協同合作提供了天然的環境,多元的背景也使得團隊成員能夠不斷地對集群「跨文化」、「跨區域」等研究方法不斷進行探討。

在日常教學中,中心註重「學術共同」的建設,通過靈活豐富、跨學科的教學模塊、導入課程、科研小組等多種形式,把具有不同學科背景、來自五湖四海的師生凝聚在一起,鼓勵他們通過交流碰撞出思想的火花,促進跨文化、跨學科的科研合作。另一方面,「數字化平臺」的建設從信息技術上保證了跨區域、跨國的學術團隊能夠在線上實時地進行資料共享、共同編輯和交流合作,是「學術共同體」得以實現的重要基礎。

四、海德堡文化研究中對我國區域國別研究的啟示

2021年12月,國務院學位委員會發布新一輪的學科專業目錄征求意見稿,擬在「交叉學科」門類下新增「區域國別學」一級學科。[⑨]這意味著我國「國別區域研究」將開啟真正意義上「交叉學科」的時代,也意味著高校將不再將「區域國別學」隸屬於某一特定學科或者學院。筆者認為我國高校可以抓住這一契機,借鑒學習海德堡跨文化中心這種從下至上、利用院校本身的學科優勢和資源從小到大的發展路徑,先設立以科研課題為核心的交叉學科的集群平臺,並通過跨院系的聯合委員會來統籌協調校內資源,進一步推動國別區域在「交叉學科」維度上的探索、多學科的協同合作。從宏觀政策層面看,筆者認為可以借鑒德國「卓越計劃」的階段性分批資助,從對「數量」的追求轉移到對「質」的追求,鼓勵各高校發揮探索國別和區域研究發展新路徑的主觀能動性。

另外,從人才培養模式的角度來看,我國國別區域研究現有的人才培養主要是由各學科自發的,沒有統一的標準。國別區域人才的培養基本由單一的專門學院或系,例如國際關系學院、外語學院等來承擔,因而無論是師資、課程設置還是培養方向都缺乏多元性、交叉性以及對全球視野的關註。通過近幾年的實踐,學界一致地認為這是「多學科、跨學科的綜合領域」[⑩],而非一個單獨的學科所能承載。國別區域人才的培養其本質上是跨文化的研究人才的培養—即要培養學生和青年學者的跨學科能力及其全球和跨文化視野,因地製宜地從多個角度、多種方法開展研究的能力,並兼顧到「不同的區域、國家有著各異的自然和文化形態、不同的國情民意和歷史演進特點」[⑪]。因而筆者認為想要培養未來的國別區域專家,師生都需要置身於一個團

隊成員更為多元化的學術平臺,唯有在相互的學術交流、協作中才能獲得更開闊的「區域和全球視野」、更多元的文化視角,並從其他學科中汲取新的靈感和研究工具,擁有更廣闊的學術思維。我國高校可以借鑒海德堡跨文化研究中心(HCTS)一些先進理念,例如學術共同體創立、海外調研及其經費保障、跨學科課程模塊、國際化師生團隊等,從多方面來保證人才培養過程中的多元性、跨學科性。高校在創建設立此類「跨學科」集群時,應把這種「多元化」和「國際化」原則作為創建學科團隊時的第一要素,緊緊圍繞集群的課題不拘一格吸引各學科和各國學者和學生,輔以靈活、學科交叉的課程安排、國際會議、科研活動和海外訪學等多種形式,來促進師生圍繞課題來展開多學科科研合作,培養其跨學科能力和全球視野。

此外,筆者認為可以借鑒 HCTS 這一學術共同體中的「願景分享」理念,在國別區域學研究中圍繞「人類命運共同體」、「全球治理下的中國答案」等中國概念進行探索,把各國、各學科的人才凝聚在一起,不斷地進行理論與實踐創新。這樣,我國高校的國別區域研究項目就有可能在多元、國際化的科研環境中依舊保持看問題的「中國立場和視角」,建設具有中國風格的國別區域研究。這也可以成為今後我國國別問題研究的重要趨勢之一。

注釋

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(Editors: MI Yaoge & Bonnie WANG)

On the Formal Characteristics and Cultural Attributes of Dongyang Wood Carving

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Abstract: Dongyang wood carving is a local traditional handicraft art, and it is an important part of the cultural heritage of the Chinese nation. As a national intangible cultural heritage, the formal characteristics of Dongyang wood carving are worth sorting out and studying. Dongyang wood carving has careful conception and rich imagination in theme, and there are rich themes and alternate between vagueness and concretization in its' techniques of expression. The form of Dongyang wood carving is often based on the line and the combination of line and surface, which forms the simple, extensive and powerful formal features. It is a necessary way to inherit and carry forward traditional handicrafts to explain the cultural attribute of Dongyang wood on the basis of sorting out the formal characteristics.

Keywords: Dongyang wood carving; formal features; cultural attributes

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東陽木雕的形式特徵及其文化屬性探析

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摘　要：東陽木雕是屬於地方性的傳統手工藝美術，是中華民族文化遺產一個重要的組成部分。作為國家級非物質文化遺產，它的形式特徵值得梳理與研究，東陽木雕在題材上構思縝密、想像豐富；表現手法中主題豐富、虛實相

間;造型表現形式往往以線為主、線面結合;以此形成了造型簡潔、粗放有力的形式特徵。從梳理形式特徵的基礎上闡釋東陽木雕的文化屬性,是傳承發揚傳統手工藝的必要途徑。

關鍵詞:東陽木雕;形式特徵;文化屬性

引言

東陽木雕因產于浙江東陽而得名,歷史悠久、工藝精湛,經過歷代藝人們的傳承發揚,逐漸成為浙江三大名雕(東陽木雕、樂清黃楊木雕、青田石雕)之魁,是中國四大木雕(東陽木雕、樂清黃楊木雕、福建龍眼木雕、廣東潮汕金漆木雕)之首,也是中華民族最優秀的民間工藝美術之一,由於它獨特的地域特色和藝術風格,因而成為國內木雕藝術中唯一因地名而聞名的藝術樣式。同時,也成為浙江省傳統工藝美術的保護品種,首批國家級非物質文化遺產代表作。

一、東陽木雕的形式特徵

根據史料記載,東陽木雕起源于秦漢,形成于唐,經宋至明,技藝日漸純熟,清代至民國,進入了鼎盛時期。東陽木雕作為中國木雕藝術的一部分,脫胎於原始木雕工藝,可追溯至原始社會,用火棒燒蝕與石斧切割等極為原始的方式做成人們最早的水上交通工具「獨木舟」和槳,這種原始的木雕工藝之所以產生,是因為它滿足人類順應並征服自然的需求。殷商時期冶金業的發展改善了木材加工的條件,促進其發展。後周時期出現了社會大變革,思想和文化上出現了諸子百家爭鳴的局面,促進了手工業分工越來越細,各類技藝爭相發展,名匠輩出,木雕工匠從商周時期「六工」的木工中分離出來,獨立成為一門藝術工種。戰國時期漆器工藝的發展也促使木雕裝飾工藝的發展,在建築、車船的建造和改良中,木雕被廣泛運用,逐步成為主要的裝飾形式。木雕工藝從實用到裝飾的變化,符合時代思想和文化繁榮及多元化發展的需求,同時反映出社會關係和階級關係的文化屬性。

(一)東陽木雕形成的緣由

18世紀法國偉大的思想家讓‧雅克‧盧梭[Jean-Jacques Rousseau]在《愛彌兒》著作中曾寫道「在人類所有一切可以謀生的職業中,最能使人接近自然狀態的職業是手工勞動。」東陽木雕工藝形成初期是以手工勞動的形式得以傳承,據考證發現,地處東陽市的巍山鎮與歌山鎮邊境的西周石墓群曾出土了原始瓷、印紋陶、玉串飾和貝殼幣等隨葬器物,其中原始陶器上的印紋,是用雕刻好的模具拍印上去,待乾燥後燒制而成。而這些紋飾既體現了當時東陽木雕形成的雛形狀態,同時也反映了原始的手工勞動所具有的文化屬性。其中,木雕中所蘊含的文化屬性顯現了當時的社會經濟、文化生活方式,這些無疑使東陽木雕自身烙上了不可替代的文化價值印記。

東陽木雕作為傳統手工藝是農耕時代自給自足的自然經濟的產物,但它的形成與逐漸成為一種獨特的地方性的工藝美術的文化形態,究其緣由,首先,同宗教信仰的傳播有客觀的因果關係。在東漢時期,佛教傳入中國,對佛教文化的信仰和崇拜,促使大興土木、建造廟宇的現象,出現了許多佛像雕塑,地處中國南方的東陽也不例外,工匠們就地取材,開發了具有特色的東陽木雕工藝形態。從現存寺廟的考證來看,當時的東陽雕刻裝飾形式已有圓木雕、圓木浮雕、平面浮雕。其次,木俑雕刻的出現促使東陽木雕的內容及形態呈

現出多樣化。木俑雕刻工藝是中國古代的殉葬文化的變革。隨著歷史的發展,始于殷商的活人殉葬逐漸取消,部分由削木成人形的木俑取而代之,使得圓木雕刻為主的木俑在雕刻藝術上有了較大發展和變化,而這樣的時風亦落在東陽木雕這種工藝形態上,它促使了東陽木雕工藝形態的進一步發展。最後,東陽木雕的進一步發展始於在建築裝飾中的應用。唐代是木雕工藝的繁榮發展時期,據《東陽新志》記載,唐德宗貞元年間,東陽馮家樓有「高樓畫欄耀人目,其下步廊幾半裡。」其規模之宏大,雕刻裝飾之豐富與華麗盡顯東陽木雕的精髓。據《東陽縣誌》載,境內 130 所寺庵多為唐宋時期所建,寺庵的建築裝飾,以及佛像、供桌等宗教用品都大量應用了東陽木雕的形式。由此可見,東陽木雕是當時社會經濟、宗教、文化等綜合社會形態的顯現。

(二)東陽木雕的形式特徵

東陽地處浙江中部,傳統文化觀念與生活習俗濃厚,重門第、崇族祭,重視教育,民風淳樸。因此東陽木雕藝術與當地人文傳統、生活習慣密切相關,無論是建築裝飾還是傢俱裝飾,都相當精緻,它的形式特徵無不體現著自身獨特的藝術語言及文化屬性。東陽木雕從它所形成的歷史淵源及外在形式分析,大致可分為以下幾種形式特徵。

1. 構思縝密、想像豐富

東陽木雕自形成以來一直以構思縝密、想像豐富著稱,特別是在清代東陽木雕已有全面的突破和提高。在選取題材上,人物、山水、花卉、魚蟲、飛禽應有盡有,更突出的是增加了有故事情節的題材,雕刻人物山水的畫面占了重要地位,像膾炙人口的《紅樓夢》《三國演義》及唐詩宋詞等,古典文學和一些民間神話、傳說也是選材的主要來源。豐富的內容,使得雕刻的畫面日趨複雜。到清代中葉,藝人在創作時的構思縝密,在作品中豐富的想像力以及創造性的素質得到了充分的展示。由此可見,當時的東陽木雕藝人已經擺脫了模式化的仿製,對大自然及各種人物有了深刻的觀察力和生動的表現力,顯示了他們在構思、造型、佈局以及整體設計上的極高造詣。

2. 主題鮮明、虛實相間

東陽木雕的裝飾題材除構思縝密、想像豐富以外,在具體的表現手法中常以主題性鮮明的寫實圖案與裝飾性較強的抽象圖案相結合,形成主題鮮明、虛實相間的形式特徵。東陽木雕中寫實圖案與抽象圖案相結合,注意虛實主次、線條分割、層次節奏的處理,追求畫面的嚴謹與變化,構圖的飽滿與均衡,並糅合了中國傳統國畫的抽象元素,使得東陽木雕作品在寫實中有變化,實用性與裝飾性達到高度結合。浙江東陽清代盧宅撐拱「麟鳳吉祥」是比較典型的主題鮮明、虛實相間的形式特徵,它也是實用型建築木雕與觀賞型木雕相結合的典範。

3. 以線為主、線面結合

以線為主、線面結合這是平面繪畫造型中的一種藝術表現手法,而要在木雕中採用如此的表現形式,須有抽象的藝術思維及想像力。東陽木雕作為發端於民間的一種工藝美術形態,它既紮根於傳統的視覺藝術表現形式,同時也來自於木雕藝術形式的實用需求。木雕工藝的產生和發展有它自身的社會歷史淵源,形式與實用相結合意味著在適當的時期有它獨特的形式特徵。木雕掛件、屏風隔斷、雕花案幾及建築裝飾雕刻等在一定程度上都需審美與實用相結合,東陽木雕由於是木製品,其不溶性和不可焊性使它在某些表現形式中只能採用了以線為主、線面結合的藝術表現形式。東陽木雕藝術繁榮于唐代。「現存最早的東陽木雕實物是發現于東陽南寺塔的一尊北宋善財童子像。此像身著長袍,雙手合十,眉清目秀,神態慈祥,是一尊用楓木鏤空雕成的圓雕作品。」從這件木雕的外在藝術形式語言分析,此時造型表現形式採用了以線為主,線面結合的手法,且在創作中刀法已十分熟練,風格樸實,古雅端莊。

4. 造型簡潔、粗放有力

東陽木雕在明代日臻成熟，並廣泛用於建築和傢俱的裝飾上，有著一套完整的體系，並逐漸形成了造型簡潔、粗放有力的形式特徵。明代的東陽木雕存有大量的實物，尤以建築物上的裝飾雕刻件保留最多，主要有永樂辛醜進士盧睿立的盧宅都憲木牌坊、天順壬午年三月落成的盧宅肅雍堂等，從屋架裝飾來看，那時已經有了各種不同的雕刻圖案，而且講究佈局的和諧統一。就選取題材、構圖設計、雕法刀功等木雕技藝而言，東陽木雕也進入了一個較新的發展階段。當時在裝飾雕刻上，取材廣泛，而人物造型粗獷奔放，一般頭面較大、形體較胖，形神兼備。該時期重文輕武、重視經濟發展，從而有了文化與經濟的繁榮發展，東陽木雕在充分發揮當時人們的文化需求的同時，也進一步發展了自身的技藝。精緻典雅的士大夫文化全面發展、理學的興起、市井文化的發展，都是東陽木雕形成造型簡潔、粗放有力形式特徵的重要文化因素。

二、東陽木雕藝術形式的文化屬性

東陽木雕藝術形式作為一種地方性的工藝美術文化形態，它的文化屬性具有內在的文化價值：一方面存在著能夠滿足大眾文化需求的客體；另一方面存在著具有特定的歷史文化影響下需求的主體。這兩者形成了文化價值關係，其中人作為建構文化價值的主客體，既是文化價值需求的主體，同時也是文化價值需求的客體。東陽木雕藝術形式的文化屬性，從側面反映了人對文化產品的需求是人類特有的文化需要，而這種文化需要是隨著社會的發展而不斷繁衍變化。東陽木雕藝術形式作為工藝美術文化形態被我們所認知，從文化的視角分析，它具有善美尺度與文化維度兩個文化屬性。

（一）蘊含深刻的善美尺度

文化屬性對個人或群體來說，折射了受教育情況及生存環境。東陽地處浙江中部，歷史上為浙閩交通要道，東臨嵊州，南連永康、磐安，西接義烏，北與諸暨接壤。經文獻考證，東陽應是西周晚期至春秋早期區域性的政治、經濟和文化中心。東陽山多田少，素有「八山半水分半田」之稱。農耕時代，因田少人多，加上南北兩江旱澇迭起，人民生活清苦，迫使一部分人拜師學藝，從藝謀生。因此，東陽在特定的地域環境中形成了牢固的小農經濟、宗法制度，並通過東陽木雕藝術的形式，延續了廣大勞動人民的喜怒哀樂，形成了獨特的民間藝術形態。

東陽木雕藝術有著特定的地域、歷史背景，它所體現出的文化屬性特質是在中國傳統的美學體系下所形成的區域性藝術形態，其中所蘊含深刻的善美尺度也是建立在中國美學的傳統上。「中國美學歷來有強調善美統一的傳統，在藝術表現上，常常通過倫理道德的感染作用，來實現藝術的社會功能。」在東陽木雕藝術的形式中處處體現出這種純樸的善美尺度，而這種善美尺度是以中國傳統儒家思想為主體來展開。例如膾炙人口的《紅樓夢》、《三國演義》、《嶽飛傳》、《白蛇傳》等故事情節為題材的創作。東陽木雕藝術形式的審美本質是在大眾化的基礎上，體現出具有當地文化、宗教信仰與人民勤勞樸實的文化屬性。而這種文化屬性中最本質的是反映了東陽木雕藝術形式所蘊含深刻的善美尺度。

（二）構建豐富的文化維度

東陽木雕藝術形態是現存的十分寶貴的文化遺產，其實用性和裝飾性深得民眾的喜愛。同時它不同於抽象的「文化」概念，其客體的物性特徵所具有的傳統手工藝形態、倫理道德形式、及自身具有的商品屬性，往往讓人對它這種文化屬性的多重性感到難以準確定義。而事實上，廣義上的文化屬性包括了民族性、社會性、系統性、階段性。東陽木雕藝術形式是一種以人為載體的活態傳承的文化形式，它的文化屬性體現為

手工生產、個性化生產、採用天然材料、具有地域民族風格等方面。

雖然,隨社會工業化發展,作為具有手工藝特質的東陽木雕藝術形式被認為是落後的社會經濟和文化的象徵。「所以當機器大生產伴隨著工業革命的浪潮洶湧而來,當機械化自動化代表先進生產力成為社會共識是,手工藝似乎只能代表落後生產力,似乎理所應當只能接受沒落的命運。」但我們回顧歷史會發現,承載著一個民族曾經的生產生活方式的藝術形態,蘊涵著無法割裂的文化記憶,而這種文化記憶是值得一個民族傳承的文化屬性。東陽木雕藝術形式所具有多重性的文化屬性恰恰是構建豐富的文化維度的例證,它既傳承了傳統手工藝的技術,更重要的是它傳承著所承載的文化。東陽木雕藝術形態對於研究我國農耕社會生產生活、民俗風情、意識形態、建築發展等方面都具有重要的學術價值。因此,構建豐富的文化維度是傳承存續東陽木雕藝術形式的現實意義。

三、結語

綜上所述,東陽木雕藝術形式由於自身的藝術形式特徵,使它具有獨特的文化屬性,在當前多元的社會形態及資訊技術飛速發展的背景下,分析與梳理它的藝術形式與文化屬性顯得尤為重要,以此獲得內在活力與外在動力。現如今的東陽木雕藝術,在繼承優良傳統和獨特風格的基礎上,不斷創新,千年古藝煥發出更加燦爛的光彩,形成了裝飾風味濃厚、完整性突出、實用與裝飾和諧結合、題材內容豐富的藝術特色。

注釋

① 苗紅磊:《木雕》,中國社會出版社 2008 年版。
② 杭間:《手藝的思想》,山東畫報出版社 2017 年版。
③ 王燕:《傳統手工藝的現代傳承》,譯林出版社 2016 年版。
④ 徐華鐺:《中國木雕》,安徽科學技術出版社 2016 年版。
⑤ 童洪全:《中國傳統木雕藝術賞析——東陽木雕》,湖南美術出版社 2007 年版。
⑥ 龔明偉:《東陽木雕》,浙江攝影出版社 2008 年版。

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Cultural Memory Studies on Nanning Tian Tian Raw Squeezed Rice Noodles

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Abstract: Raw pressed rice flour was originally a traditional food specially prepared by Zhuang farmers to celebrate the harvest. Raw squeezed rice noodles were once a traditional food specially prepared by farmers in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces to celebrate the harvest. Growing up in the Yujiang River Basin, where rice culture prevails, Huang Tianling took over the crafts of making raw squeezed rice noodles from her parents in the 1980s. She passed on the taste in her memory and continued to innovate and develop. The rice noodles she created were listed as the intangible cultural heritage of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region by the People's Government of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. From the traditional handmade street vendors to the establishment of the industrialized, large-scale, and intensive central kitchen, the cultural memory of raw squeezed rice noodles has been continuously reconstructed, inherited, and developed on the basis of modernization, and traditional elements have been integrated into modern life. The root of cultural memory has been deepening downward and growing upward. This paper discusses the cultural memory and identity brought by raw squeezed rice flour in the subtropical Zhuang rice-growing areas from the perspective of the nature of quasi-public intangible cultural heritage, the origin, inheritance, and protection of skills, and the economic and cultural value, and reveals the impact and challenge of modernity on traditional skills.

Keywords: intangible culture heritage; raw squeezed rice noodles; culture memory

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非物質文化遺產南寧生榨米粉的文化記憶研究

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摘　要：生榨米粉原為兩廣壯族農家為慶祝豐收而專門製作的傳統美食。生長在稻作文化盛行的郁江流域，黃天玲於上世紀八十年代從父母手裡接過製作生榨米粉的手藝，將記憶中的味道傳承下來並不斷創新發展，其創制的「天天生榨米粉」被廣西壯族自治區人民政府列入自治區級非物質文化遺產名錄。從傳統手工製作的小攤販到如今產業化、規模化、集約化中央廚房的成立，生榨米粉文化記憶在現代化基礎上不斷地重新建構、傳承發展，將傳統要素融入現代生活，文化記憶的根脈不斷向下紮深，向上生長。本文從非物質文化遺產技藝傳承和保護、經濟和文化價值等角度，探討亞熱帶壯族稻作地區生榨米粉所帶來的文化記憶和身份認同，揭示現代性對於傳統技藝的衝擊和挑戰。

關鍵詞：非物質文化遺產；生榨米粉；文化記憶

引言

　　聯合國教科文組織 2003 年指出「非物質文化遺產」包括民間文學、表演藝術、傳統技能、傳統知識、傳統節日禮儀及民俗活動等領域[1]。國家文化和旅遊部文旅非遺發〔2018〕8 號檔指出：「非物質文化遺產代表性傳承人是非物質文化遺產的重要承載者和傳遞者，掌握著非物質文化遺產的豐富知識和精湛技藝，是非物質文化遺產活態傳承的代表性人物，各級政府部門鼓勵和支持自治區級非物質文化遺產代表性傳承人開展傳承傳播活動，切實做好非物質文化遺產保護工作，為繼承和弘揚優秀傳統文化做出更大的貢獻」[2]。廣西地處於亞熱帶地區，水分和光照充足適合水稻的生長，廣西稻作文化（壯族人民稱「那」文化），是廣西一個最重要的核心民族文化形式。「冠以那字的地名遍佈珠江流域及整個東南亞地區，在文化生態學視野中的壯族文化，不僅表現為一種稻作文明類型，而且以其整體性顯示出區域文化的個性特質。」（張聲震，2008：7）稻作文化鮮明的壯民族文化特色，成為壯族地區的人們共同的身份認同和歷史文化記憶。文化記憶是近年來學術界研究的熱點，它具有很強的融合力和跨學科性，能夠提供一個常常被學者們忽視但確實是嶄新的研究視角（羅選民，2014）。德國揚·阿斯曼和阿萊達·阿斯曼夫婦上世紀末提出的文化記憶理論認為「記憶產生於集體又締造了集體；個人記憶屬於群體記憶；人們是在與他人的關係中進行回憶的；個人記憶正是各種不同社會記憶的交叉點。」（阿斯特莉特，2012：23）。由大米磨漿發酵做成的生榨米粉，是廣西南寧的一道傳統特色美食，以與眾不同的微酸口味和順滑口感而聞名，其製作技藝被列入自治區級非物質文化遺產，南寧天天生榨米粉的創始人黃天玲是這項技藝的傳承人。起源于老水街的天天生榨米粉，立足南寧四十年，到黃天玲女士這一代掌門人，這一門製作生榨米粉的工藝已經傳承了五代。2014 年開始也走上了品牌連鎖的道路，在南寧市開設了十四家分店，希望能夠通過品牌化的打造，能夠更好保護和傳承廣西南寧這一項寶貴的技藝類非物質文化遺產。

一、文化記憶形成與喚醒：「天天生榨米粉」創制

　　壯族先民居住的珠江流域屬亞熱帶，地理氣候環境適宜水稻種植。這一地區自古以來就是我國典型的稻作文化區，野生稻分佈廣泛，是稻作農業的起源地之一（張聲震，2007：7）。梁庭望先生說中國和世界最早發明水稻人工種植的民族應當是中國江南的越人，也就是現在江南漢族的先祖和壯族的先祖（梁庭望、張公瑾，1998）。作為廣西稻作「那」文化的標誌性美食之一的生榨米粉，其歷史和傳統製作技藝可以追溯到宋朝。相傳是一戶米粉店家為脾胃不好的壯族首領儂智高所研製，儂智高吃後回味無窮，親自題「生榨米粉」送給店家。生榨米粉由此而來，壯家農戶都會做製作。在歷史的變遷中生榨米粉逐漸成為兩廣農家為慶祝豐收而專門製作的農家傳統美食，每到收穫季節和民俗節日，生榨米粉就成為壯族一道必不可少的美味佳餚。

　　生榨米粉是壯族民眾的日常飲食，其起源、發展和流變體現了一部壯族人民生產和生活的社會文化歷史。在民眾長期的生活實踐和代代傳承中，有關生榨米粉的歷史記憶逐步形成個人和集體文化記憶的歷史。這些民間傳說和文化記憶具有民族性、區域性和獨特性的特點，「重要的不是有據可查的歷史，而只是被回憶的歷史」，「這段歷史被講述，是因為可以以起源時期為依據對當下進行闡釋」（揚·阿斯曼，2015：46）。按照這一理論，生榨米粉起源傳說不僅是「有據可查的歷史」，而且是在民眾生活實踐中口耳相傳，是不斷「被回憶的歷史」，充滿壯族人民濃厚的感情色彩，是壯族人民族群認同和文化認同的載體，是鞏固、強化和發展集體文化記憶的根本。

　　「天天生榨米粉」為家族傳承，黃天玲是第五代傳承人。20 世紀 40 年代以前，黃天玲家族生活在橫縣陶圩鎮壯族聚居區，生榨米粉作為純手工製作工藝，因其製作工藝複雜，體力消耗量大且製作難度高，成為家家戶戶合力製作的節慶食物，這一集體性的飲食實踐活動週期性的發生，是陶圩鎮各農家情感聯結的紐帶，「每個‘自我’與若干個‘我們’相關聯，而任何一個‘我們’又與其他和更大的‘我們’相關。‘我’與‘我們’之間的所屬關係有時是不由自主的，比如家庭、種族和國家」（金壽福 2017：37）。生榨米粉的製作特點將生活在這一地域的壯族人民緊密聯繫起來，「我」的記憶與「我們」息息相關，藉由生榨米粉這個在當時物質匱乏年代尚顯奢侈的小吃食品，個人的記憶與集體的記憶緊密相連。「每個人的記憶都是在與不同的我們接觸和相互作用中形成……一個集體的成員擁有共同的記憶，因此容易形成歸屬感，而經常性的回憶促使一個集體的成員加深和強化他們的身份認同」（金壽福，2017：37），在這種年復一年的飲食實踐中，壯族民眾之間的紐帶日益增強，不斷強化的身份認同也賦予了生活在這一地區民眾不斷傳承和發展生榨米粉的社會責任，將過去的記憶與當下的生活形態相關聯，正是這一文化記憶不斷傳承、傳播和發展，使得生榨米粉得以走在通往未來之路。

　　生榨米粉記憶是民族性的，也是區域性的，隨著社會的發展與融合，人口流動日益增強，20 世紀 40 年代，黃天玲父母從家鄉橫縣移居到南寧水街，帶來了生榨米粉的傳統製作技藝。當時的水街是南北客商雲集的商貿重地，商業、人氣使水街很快成為南北小吃彙聚的風水寶地。掌握了生榨米粉的獨門絕技，黃天玲父母開始經營生榨米粉生意，承載著黃天玲和父母故鄉記憶的生榨米粉來到了商業區，從帶有「私密性質的小範圍傳統文化變成了更廣大範圍被更多民眾享用的公共文化，其文化記憶便更加多元化、多樣化」（王丹，2020：169）。生榨米粉從此開始融入百年水街當地民眾每天的飲食生活，並依據當地民眾的飲食習慣不斷做出新的調整和變化，在過去文化記憶的基礎上，正如黃天玲在採訪中所說的那樣，開始「不斷融合多民族

傳統、多地域傳統」。

二十世紀八十年代改革開放初期，初中畢業的黃天玲毅然選擇繼承祖業，跟隨母親學習生榨米粉制做技藝，只為將這承載壯族先民生活習俗、精神信仰的技藝傳承下去。生榨米粉為傳統手工制做技藝，對每一道工序都有著嚴格的要求。因此，黃天玲日日披星戴月，精益求精，嚴格把控每一製作環節，一心為顧客帶來口感最佳的米粉，幾十年如一日。窺一斑而知全豹，處一隅而觀全域。黃天玲經營南寧天天生榨米粉的歷史，不僅是一部傳承集體文化記憶的家族生意史，也是一部當地經濟、社會、文化發展的歷史，折射出國家現代化進程中所歷經的不斷摸索、勇於創新、貴在堅持的必然之路。

「文化記憶是相關的人依據當下的需求對過去賦予新的意義的過程」（王丹，2020：166），「回憶和回顧歷史不是簡單地再現過去，而是為了當下重塑過去」（金壽福，2017：38），黃天玲作為生榨米粉第五代傳承人，代代相傳的傳統技藝以及記憶中的米粉味道逐漸塑造了她個人的文化記憶，喚醒了她內心深處強烈的身份認同感以及社會責任感，四十年只做一碗生榨米粉的長期實踐，黃天玲創制了「南寧天天生榨米粉」這個品牌。2014年被西鄉塘區人民政府列為西鄉塘區級非物質文化遺產，同年被南寧市人民政府商務局認定為「南寧老字型大小」；2015年被南寧市人民政府列入南寧市非物質文化遺產代表性項目名錄；2016年又被廣西壯族自治區人民政府列入自治區級第六批非物質文化遺產代表性項目名錄。南寧天天生榨米粉一步一步憑藉著過去的集體文化記憶走到今天，如今已是南寧著名的傳統小吃之一，成為南寧百年水街傳統美食的典型代表。

二、生榨米粉的重新建構：「神雕俠侶」式經營

揚・阿斯曼曾給「文化記憶」下了這樣的定義：「關於一個社會的全部知識的總概念，在特定的互動框架之內，這些知識駕馭著人們的行為和體驗，並需要人們一代一代反復瞭解和熟練掌握它們」（轉引自哈拉爾德・韋爾策，2015：4）。生榨米粉在宋朝特定的農耕文化之下誕生，在人們日常的重複製作中實現代際傳承。非物質文化遺產生榨米粉製作技藝指向「過去」的生產生活方式、禮俗信仰，在歷史的變遷中，不斷與「現在」相融合，形成「高度成型的、被固定下來的諸如典章禮儀等客觀外化物，有專職的傳統承繼者，具有良好的存貯、調取和傳達作用」（呂進、何佳佳，2022：4）。生榨米粉製作技藝的文化記憶便由此形成。「記憶不斷經歷著重構。過去在記憶中不能保留其本來面目，持續向前的當下生產出不斷變化的參照框架，過去在此框架中被不斷重新組織。即使是新的東西，也只能以被重構的過去的形式出現」（揚・阿斯曼，2015：46-47）。「天天生榨米粉」的手工製作技藝是「歷史性的，也是建構性的，是以現實生活為根本的實踐與重構」（王丹，2020：167）。隨著改革開放的日益深入，人民生活水準逐漸提高，對飲食的要求也愈來愈高，從「吃飽」到「吃好」，從解決溫飽到舌尖小康，為了與時俱進地滿足現代大眾的口味，黃天玲堅持傳統手工製造米粉，工藝講究，保證了米粉的韌性、筋道、柔和、爽口。為了滿足民眾的需求，黃天玲獨門創制了六種辣椒和八種特色系列燒鹵食品構成的生榨米粉伴侶，極大地滿足了全國各地南來北往不同口味要求的食客。

文化記憶並非記憶過去，而是將過去的傳統手工藝在當下生活的框架中喚醒、延續、啟動，並不斷豐富改善，使其鮮活起來。「天天生榨米粉」的「文化記憶以當下社會環境、生活需要以及個人興趣和利益為根本出發點和落腳點」，將「過去的傳統生活、文化延續下來，不是為保留而保留採取措施，而是將'現在'作為參照體系進行重新建構（王丹，2020：168）。黃天玲的丈夫神華生獨家秘制的神記化皮豬腳，為了適應現代民眾的個性化選擇，二人合體經營起了夫妻店，一碗天天生榨米粉配上一隻神記化皮豬腳，是天天生榨米粉的

一大創新,被食客稱為「天生絕配」,成為南寧眾多顧客的最愛。生榨米粉製作技藝在「現在」的社會框架之下實現了對「過去」的重構,滿足食客多種飲食需求的同時,為米粉製作技藝注入了現代性。

傳統小吃美食需要傳承,全球化時代日新月異,餐飲市場每天都在發生新的變化,國外洋速食品牌強勢競爭占位,國內新生代餐飲品牌如雨後春筍一般湧現,百年水街的美食老字型大小商家都無可避免地面對新挑戰。英國左派社會學家吉登斯把印度劄格納特神車(Juggernaut Car)[③]比作西方文明現代性,認為「資本主義全球化趨勢一往無前,不可逆轉。與此同時,它也給世人帶來可怕的風險與負面後果——其景象之壯麗慘烈,一如那印度神車不可一世、轔轔向前、血肉橫飛」(趙一凡,2007:33)。而現實情況是,現代性神車攻城掠地之處摧毀了許多傳統的東西。百年水街上的的許多古老的傳統美食,由於風味標準、資金、衛生、經營外來競爭等種種因素也面臨著失去真傳的危機。因此得以在區級非遺名錄上保護和傳承的生榨米粉,對於那些跟隨多年的生榨米粉忠實粉絲來說,遍佈全城十四家分店標準化流程工藝製作的這一碗米粉,早已成為了個人和集體歷經社會變遷而愈加清晰堅定的的文化記憶,和一種早已沉澱在血液之中的文化基因,一代一代地傳承沿襲下來。「文化記憶具有很強的可塑性,就是說它因現實情況和需要隨時變化」,黃天玲結合現代人的多種需求,不斷開發研製新產品,為「天天生榨米粉」注新鮮的血液,融入現代性的飲食文化,「天天生榨米粉」逐漸演化成南寧的傳統美食。南寧壯族特色的水街百年品牌—「天天生榨米粉」,在競爭激烈的市場中,受到消費者的歡迎和市場的認可,成為南寧市乃至廣西最受歡迎的傳統美食小吃。產品先後榮獲南寧水街十大美食小吃,廣西金牌小吃,廣西名小吃,舌尖上的廣西名小吃等稱號。

三、現代化轉型與創新發展:中央廚房設立

隨著時代的發展,現代化進程的加快,民眾選擇日益增多,機器化大生產逐漸代替傳統手工生產,願意回歸純樸,起早貪黑做一碗粉的人越來越少,夫妻店的家庭作坊式經營模式雖然豐富了生榨米粉的飲食,吸引了更多的顧客,卻也面臨著種種困境,究其原因,一是社會快速發展,現代食品的多元化對生榨米粉形成強烈衝擊。二是隨著餐飲行業轉型升級,對小吃等傳統手工行業影響較大。三是生榨米粉製作工藝複雜,利潤低薄,傳承人後繼乏人等

恰恰在這時,轉折悄然地出現了。身為香港上市公司董事的生榨米粉食客薛冰是土生土長的南寧仔,他是「天天生榨米粉」幾十年的老顧客,正值此時,轉折悄然而現。香港上市公司董事薛冰作為土生土長的南寧仔,是「天天生榨米粉」幾十年的老顧客,憑藉對一碗生榨米粉的鄉愁情懷和文化記憶催生了其為黃天玲注資進行現代化轉型的想法。「事到萬難須放膽,宜於兩可莫粗心」,精湛的技藝與現代運營模式有機結合起來,二人共同創建了位於江南區通源路 8 號黃氏乳業工業園區占地 1500 平方米的廣西南寧市古源香天天餐飲投資管理有限公司中央廚房,實現了原材料生產、加工、配送一體化,將「天天生榨米粉」制做技藝流程化、標準化、正規化的現代餐飲品牌。從而使得生榨米粉製作技藝的文化記憶從「傳統節日主體生活中有意義的歷史」轉變成現實生活中的日常規範,開始發揮「規範性和定型性力量」(王丹,2020:167)。由此生榨米粉製作技藝這項非物質文化遺產,在傳承人黃天玲手中,通過勞動生產工具的更新反覆運算促成其現代化轉型與創新發展,更進一步使得五代老祖宗留下的生榨米粉製作技藝和先民們共有的文化記憶擁有了「可持續的規範性和定型性力量」。

米粉要花七道工序才能完成,泡米、磨漿、壓幹、蒸粉、攪拌、搓揉、壓榨等,每一步都決定著米粉的品質(潘偉勝,2011)。為了增強生榨米粉的口感,實現規模化、機械化發展,黃天玲自主設計了五種榮獲專利的

設備,包括一體化泡米車、榨粉機、蒸粉機、攪拌機以及壓粉機。如今在中央廚房內機器化生產有序進行,「天天生榨米粉」經過六年的時間,實現了標準化生產。「天天生榨米粉」呈現選料精細,製作考究,久煮不爛,鮮香爽滑、開胃健體,老少皆宜的特點。傳統手工工藝成功向現代化轉型,逐漸形成集約化的發展模式,「天天生榨米粉」成為廣西餐飲業第一家設立中央廚房的小吃店,確保了生榨米粉的生產標準化和食品安全。

四、文化記憶的傳承:連鎖經營模式轉向

對於生榨米粉的保護傳承發展,南寧市政府在資金、政策等方面都給予了大力扶持,城區政府還把天天生榨米粉非遺項目作為發展城區經濟文化的重點內容做出規劃,安排落實了資金支持。黃天玲也一直致力於生榨米粉傳統技藝的保護傳承發展工作,成立了「古源香天天餐飲投資管理有限責任公司」,並制定詳細的生榨米粉傳承發展保護計畫,定期組織員工培訓,培養生榨米粉技藝後備人才。積極參加政府和行業主管部門舉辦的各類美食節活動,傳播推廣生榨米粉傳統技藝,「天天生榨米粉」榮獲中國美食節最有影響力米粉品牌,廣西米粉節最有影響力米粉品牌。

南寧生榨米粉有百年歷史,是壯族稻作文化的典型代表,具有唯一性獨特性,是南寧傳統飲食文化代表,已被列為南寧市和自治區級非遺項目以及非遺傳承人,通過強化生榨米粉產業,打造極富南寧地域特色的文化品牌。「天天生榨米粉」技藝需要不斷豐富其形式與內容,以適應時代的變遷進步,使「天天生榨米粉」製作工藝與地方文化建設、經濟發展結合起來,努力追求其在經濟發展中效益的最大化、品質的最優化,從而驅動並實現生榨米粉文化記憶的再建構。「天天生榨米粉」從最初的攤販模式,到家庭作坊式發展,再到如今的中央廚房式標準化生產,突破了單一化的發展瓶頸,不斷與現代商業化相適應,為「天天生榨米粉」的傳承和發展奠定了基礎。

莫里斯·哈布瓦赫認為,「在一切良好地建立起來的現代社會裡,每個家庭有它自己獨特的心理生活;家庭單獨擁有自己的記憶;它的秘密只向家庭成員透露」。「這些記憶,不僅僅是一系列往事的個體化意象......也是用以教育和發展的一種基礎」。「它們不僅僅在重演家庭的歷史,它們還界定了家庭的性質、家庭的力景和家庭的弱點」(弗雷德里克·C·巴特萊特,1998:383)。「天天生榨米粉」製作技藝是家族傳承模式,黃天玲將「過去」記憶引入現在,並在「現在」的基礎上為其在未來的建構奠定基礎。為使技藝更好地傳承,黃天玲轉變經營模式,由作坊式經營轉向連鎖經營方式。日前,「天天生榨米粉」在南寧市共有華潤萬象城、夢之島水晶城、水街惠民碼頭、新水街市場等14家連鎖店。生榨米粉第六代傳承人為黃天玲90後的女兒,大學畢業後便在米粉店在基層崗位實習,在熟悉米粉製作、經營的各個環節後,結合自己的專業知識,通過融媒體,如微信、抖音等多種途徑傳播「天天生榨米粉」這一品牌的文化內涵。在現代性的衝擊下,對非遺傳承人的素質要求也不斷提高,生榨米粉製作技藝在當下的重構離不開傳承人的積極作為。

四十年如一日做著一碗粉的黃天玲沒有就此止步,她開始轉向原本陌生的微生物學領域,與廣東省科學院生物工程研究所的博士團隊展開合作,檢測生榨米粉蘊含的多種有益菌類,為生榨米粉取得國標食品認證以及歐標食品認證不斷努力。一方水土養一方人,廣西南寧地處亞熱帶,壯族聚居地區的人們喜食酸,是與他們的生活環境和物產有關的。檢測報告表明,壯族多生活於潮濕多山的地區,多吃酸味,可以驅寒散濕;有利於腸內微生物分佈正常化,幫助維持腸道健康環境,促進身體健康。生榨粉是南寧特有的米粉品種,米漿發酵所帶有的酸味,讓許多食客吃了一輩子都難以忘懷。「文化記憶的最終目標不是對以往的人或

事形成一個客觀的認識，而是把過去構建為能夠支撐當下和指明未來道路的共識。可見，文化記憶不僅具有很強的實用性和現實性，而且具有為未來奠定基礎、鋪平道路的功能」(金壽福，2017：40)。同時，為了使「天天生榨米粉」走出廣西，走向全國，黃天玲不斷鑽研粉團的保鮮技術，目前已成功研製出了乾粉以及各類料包。在中央廚房基地內，黃天玲還設立了培訓基地，為年輕一代提供創業指導，承擔起社會責任。

連鎖經營模式的轉向帶來了米粉行業的經濟規模效應。南寧米粉消費群體龐大，銷售量驚人，經濟效益十分可觀。目前南寧米粉日產量已達 30 多萬公斤，年產量超過一億公斤。如果以每碗米粉 2 兩計算，南寧市每年賣出 6 億多碗米粉。以每個米粉碗直徑 20 釐米計算，把南寧每年消費的 6 億多碗米粉排一起，可以繞地球三圈多(潘偉勝，2011)。據專家估算，南寧一家米粉店一天能賣出 500 多碗米粉，一碗以平均 10 元錢計算，一年營業額 180 多萬元，年營業額保守有 10 億元，可以成為南寧的億元產業。援引《廣西日報》2021 年 8 月 6 日的資料[④]，因此，近日我區印發實施方案，加快推進廣西優勢特色米粉產業高品質發展，力爭到 2025 年廣西優勢特色米粉全產業鏈銷售收入超過 1000 億元。在這如此巨大的數字背後，無疑是個巨大的產業。對於落實強首府戰略，對擴內需、穩增長、促就業、惠民生、保穩定具有重要意義。

五、結語

「民以食為天」。南寧人吃得最多的美食就是米粉，生榨米粉不僅是南寧人每日生活飲食的必需，也承載著南寧深厚的文化記憶，它不僅是南寧的美食名片，更是南寧的文化名片(黃天玲，2017)。生榨米粉是廣西壯族人民的珍貴遺產，具有豐富的文化價值、實用價值和營養價值，底蘊豐厚。黃天玲父母將製作生榨米粉的手工技藝從橫縣帶到南寧，黃天玲在此基礎上繼承發展，與現實的種種因素交匯、融合，不斷地再建構，以適應新的社會框架。生榨米粉的文化記憶也因此得以永續不斷地傳承並創新發展。生榨米粉得到非物質文化遺產名錄的保護，使得這一百年美食在現代得以不斷傳承和創新發展。水街天天生榨米粉店被授予廣西烹飪餐飲行業協會常務理事單位，成為廣西餐飲行業小吃類品牌的領軍企業。在傳承非遺美食同時不忘回饋社會，承擔更大的社會責任，幫助社會人士就業或者幫扶他們自主創業。作為非物質文化遺產傳承人，黃天玲感受到責無旁貸的使命，那就是除了不斷精進生榨米粉的工藝和管理，還為其他人提供生榨米粉的就業技能培訓。美食的文化記憶是鄉愁，是文化基因，是萬水千山走遍也忘不了的味道。形成文化記憶的米粉製作技藝聯結著過去，建構著當下，指向著未來。

注釋

① 聯合國教科文組織，保護非物質文化遺產公約：全國人民代表大會常務委員會公報，2006 年第 2 期，頁 139。

② 文化和旅遊部關於公佈第五批國家級非物質文化遺產代表性專案代表性傳承人的通知(文旅非遺發〔2018〕8 號。2018-05-16. http://www.ihchina.cn/news_1_details/11573.html。

③ Karl Mark & Frederick Engels：《馬克思恩格斯全集》，北京人民出版社 1961 年版，頁 311。轉引自趙一凡著。《從胡塞爾到德里達 西方文論講稿》，北京：生活 讀書 新知 三聯書店 2007 年版，頁 32。

④ 廣西推進柳州螺螄粉及優勢特色米粉產業高品質發展，廣西日報。2021-08-06. http://www.gxzf.gov.cn/gxyw/t9722750.shtml。

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(Editors: LI Ruobing & Bonnie WANG)

Research on the Brand Building of Xiangxi Tujia Brocade

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Abstract: With the development of social economy, Tujia brocade non-legacy products cultivated under the influence of non-legacy culture have unique characteristics of minority cultures. This paper investigates the changes of current consumption groups, consumption purposes and consumption concerns of Tujia brocade. Taking Tujia brocade as an example, this paper analyzes the potential innovation of cultural creativity and designs cultural creative products with the characteristics of the times. Relying on the cultural characteristics and tourism advantages of Xiangxi, we should highlight Tujia brocade products, dig deep into Tujia brocade culture, and create and upgrade different Tujia brocade product identities. Based on the perspective of rural revitalization, this paper analyzes the problems existing in the process of brand building of Tujia brocade, and transforms Tujia brocade into a research on shaping the brand direction of "youthfulness".

Keywords: Tujia brocade; intangible cultural heritage products; rural vitalization; brand building

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湘西土家織錦「年輕化」品牌塑造研究

賈　輝

吉首大學

摘　要：隨著社會經濟的發展，在非遺文化影響下培育的土家織錦非遺產品獨具少數民族文化特色。調查土家織錦目前的消費群體、消費目的、消費關注點的變遷。以土家織錦為例，分析文化創意的潛在創新，設計具有時代特

微的文化創意產品。依託湘西地區的文化特色和旅遊優勢,突出土家織錦產品,深挖土家織錦文化的文化,打造提升不同的土家織錦產品身份。基於鄉村振興視角,剖析土家族織錦在品牌建設過程中存在的問題,將土家織錦轉化成為具有「年輕化」品牌方向的塑造研究。

關鍵詞:土家織錦;非遺產品;鄉村振興;品牌塑造

一、湘西土家織錦介紹

西水河是湘西的母親河,是湘西州土家族文明的重要發源地。勤勞勇敢的土家族人在西水河畔兩岸不斷發展,創造了多彩的土家族文明。在土家織錦工藝中,多以絲、棉、麻線為原料,一般以紅、藍、青三種顏色的線,採取通經斷緯反面挑織的方法手工挑織而成。土家織錦所用的斜織腰機與兩千多年前漢代的斜織機驚人相似,其分線方式、杠杆原理,利用踏紋提花的杠杆原理和挑經緯的編織方法,完全用手工製成的手工藝術品。土家織錦訴說著的是古老文明的歷史進程,傳遞著的是土家族人的設計智慧。土家織錦豐富自由的圖紋形式被稱為「寫」在織物上的土家歷史。

土家織錦工藝複雜,主要表現為「打花」和「牽花」。「打花」是土家族婦女坐在織布機座上,用手腳編織經緯線的操作。「牽花」是打花前準備過程的總稱。當地俗話說「打花容易,牽花難」。牽花是打花的前提,比打花還難。因為工藝、技術難度大,難以理解,往往需要花費大量的時間和精力。過去農閒時節,土家族婦女常請鄰居在村裡有名的老織女的帶領下挑花。現在,經過簡化,編織的整個過程包括:紡撚線—染色—捯線—牽線—滾線—穿筘—撿綜—翻篙—撿花—裝花筒—掛杆—織布邊—挑花。根據準備步驟,分為四個階段:線材準備、紗線整理、機上整理和織造。

土家織錦,在土家語中被稱為「西蘭卡普」,是一種起源於春秋戰國時期的織錦,流傳於湘西州土家族婦女之間的民間手工技藝。「西蘭」為被面,「卡普」是一種花,在漢語中俗稱土花布或土花被褥,它是中國四大名錦之一,是土家族最突出的民間文化和工藝之一。土家織錦自古以來就是土司對朝廷的上貢或著名的地方特產。土家織錦作為中國土家族人在生產社會勞動產品時發明的一種機織物,它與土家族的生活息息相關。在家庭重大節日、祭祀,婚禮等活動中發揮著重要作用,甚至成為活動中不可或缺的符號或神聖物件。土家織錦獨特的方式包含了民族文化的歷史,揭示了不同時代的文化,積澱充分展示了中華民族文化的創造力。湘西土家織錦它是湘西土家族地區社會發展過程的縮影。在整個中國工藝美術文化中佔有重要地位。作為土家族的非物質文化遺產,土家織錦構成了土家族最顯著的民族文化符號。

二、湘西土家織錦的發展現狀

土家織錦技藝主要存在于龍山、永順、保靖等地。土家織錦現在正在經歷歲月的打磨,也開始面臨著許多傳承的危機。

(一) 傳承單一

土家織錦作為非物質文化遺產,有著豐富的歷史背景和悠久的歷史。主要是家族傳承,家庭繼承多是家庭中的女性成員因為生產生活等一系列需要,為家庭成員編織衣物。因此,土家織錦文化是一個歷史悠久、傳承有序的傳統家庭文化。尤其是因為其複雜的編織工藝和土家織錦技藝使其傳承繼承更加困難。傳

統土家織錦手工藝主要靠的指導是家裡的女性長輩。傳承大多以家庭和小作坊的形式,自產自銷,規模很小。這種封閉、保守的傳承、傳播模式,不可避免地讓許多優秀的傳統特技也消失了。土家織錦技藝逐漸失去賴以生存環境,處於全方位瀕危的境地,需要通過有效措施加以保護。

(二) 文化自覺

近年來,土家織錦在國內外享有良好的聲譽,傳播研究的範圍也極其廣泛的。原因是一則源於國家對於非物質遺產文化的保護與傳承;二是眾多民間和社會組織的積極參與和進一步推廣。

針對國家級非物質進行文化遺產土家織錦技藝的傳承與保護環境問題,系統管理土家織錦文化資訊資源的保護和互動虛擬世界,來展示土家織錦文化,土家織錦數位化教學設計及智慧織造生產能力等[①]通過調查,土家織錦文化得以開展、研究、收集、整理和聚合方法,構建了土家族織錦文化建設資源和資料庫。開發互動式土家織錦虛擬編織系統土家織錦創意產品。並設計系統,通過電腦協助工具設計控制系統,以試製為基礎的機械技術,用電子提花籠頭和劍杆織成的。形成了土家織錦自動化作業系統工程技術服務。[②]上述技術已應用于武陵山區博物館、旅遊景點和民族文化村的互動虛擬展示和自動製作示範,取得了良好的社會效益和經濟效益。專案還面向武陵地區發展農村社會婦女、特殊教育人群、大學生,開展了土家織錦技藝進行培訓,推動了土家織錦文化知識技藝的傳承與創新。許多民間和社會組織自覺承擔著土家織錦的傳播與創作。如劉代娥等非遺傳承人,通過改變土家織錦技藝,以及招收學員,員工等。這些活動將促進土家織錦的發展。土家織錦的傳承從而實現在這種鄉村文化的復興。關鍵在於人們對自己文化的理解、自覺和自信。基於文化發展意識和自信理論,土家織錦可以通過民間企業等社會經濟組織的積極參與而被啟動。土家織錦的文化自覺和自信以及對土家織錦的活化和傳承,使傳統土家織錦得以發揚光大,為土家織錦在現代社會的傳播和發展奠定了廣泛的群眾基礎。

(三) 創新模式

土家族織錦通過自覺、自信而積極地在民間傳承民俗文化。受到教育工作者、國家文化研究所專業人的關注。通過知識群體的課堂化、專業化等,土家織錦逐漸從民間的「小傳統」走向「大傳統」。作為研究一種中國傳統文化技藝,土家織錦已經從民間的儀式場合變成具備了強烈的藝術設計場合。通過對土家織錦藝術的教學方式改變,逐漸蔓延到各個年齡段和性別。從這以後,在教學傳承範圍內更大的被打破,不再局限於家庭的簡單傳承,開始慢慢走向社會。對土家織錦的造型、傳承、藝術特色和發展的細節與創意引起了更多學者對土家織錦文化的關注。

(四) 品牌塑造

經過自我認知、啟動、傳承、知識轉化和提升,土家織錦已成為獨具特色、符合現代審美的民族文化產品。但是從實地調研發現,大多數消費者非常喜歡土家織錦的天然原料和獨特的手工技藝,但對產品的設計卻不太滿意。一是因為其織錦產品缺乏實用性;二是因為其設計不滿足當下時代潮流,缺乏品牌化的定位。當地政府和企業對於土家織錦系統化品牌行銷策劃與營造工作不夠明確。在貫徹落實相關政策以及企業對於土家織錦的設計研究缺乏大量設計題材,不甘於創新,對於自己市場化品牌策劃定位不夠明確,沒有很好的制訂有效的規劃,影響了土家織錦在在市場的發展。目前湖南龍山縣政府在促進土家織錦發展傳播、塑造土家織錦品牌方面起到了關鍵作用,敏銳地意識到土家織錦資源開發的潛力,對土家織錦非遺技藝進行了全方位的策劃與營造。

三、土家織錦塑造方略

（一）文化挖掘

正如黨的十九大報告所指出的，文化理論自信是我們國家的，一個中國民族企業的發展更根本、更深入、更持久的力量。沒有高度的文化自信，就沒有繁榮的文化。中華民族正在偉大復興。因此，文化建立在文化自信的基礎上是文化建設的主要過程，也是品牌建設的實踐途徑之一。主觀文化自覺學習能最大限度地動力驅動土家織錦技術發展。[③]因此，有必要充分發揮主體意識，進行探索地方特色，充分利用文化資源，從而引導挖掘其他優秀文化，並加以利用，從而形成「文化群」，成為民族特色。為人民共同意識和鄉村振興積蓄文化能量。此外，主體有意識地強調自我發展是根本。通過充分利用內部力量和優秀的地方文化背景，讓它出現在人們的日常生活中，並為不斷變化的文化提供基礎，從而使其文化振興，找到文化品牌建設的重點，為文化品牌建設提供依據。

（二）市場主導

黨中央提出「鄉村振興」戰略，更加重視農村社區。社會文化空心化和缺失，從中我們可以提出企業文化的振興戰略，以文化產業振興推動鄉村振興。文化振興要全面發展。依靠政府支援，同時以市場為導向，以市場創新發展的活力驅動文化產業基礎和區域特色文化產業集群建設，從而助力文化商品品牌塑造。文化環境建設和品牌形象建設都要面向市場，面向群眾需求。優秀的民族文化屬於一個民族的社會、生活、精神相統一的消費驅動型產業。是市場健康發展的基礎，也是文化品牌建設的尺規之一。[④]因此，文化品牌的市場化塑造可以激發企業的創新活力，同時也可以通過企業等市場主體的力量為文化品牌的後續發展提供保障。而且，市場是一隻「看不見的手」，對土家織錦的品牌形象產生潛移默化的影響。因此要尊重中國市場進行經濟社會規律，以此可以形成一個文化能夠長久持續健康發展的不竭動力。所謂文化，「文化人」，所以更重要的是把文化教育的意義與市場消費者的需求結合起來，增強文化品牌建設的力量。從而可以幫助土家織錦打造出屬於自己的品牌策略。

（三）設計傳承

土家織錦的活性產品，本質上提高土家織錦文化創意產品的品質，從而吸引消費者的注意力，贏得市場認可。根據土家織錦的傳統文化符號，立足湘西土家族本土文化，通過創新設計，將傳統織錦文化的藝術內涵與現代生活理念相結合，將其獨特的民俗風情以產品的形式呈現給消費者。同時，也要注重文化創意產品與使用者的互聯互通，兼顧文化創意產品給使用者帶來的實踐體驗和更深層次的情感共鳴，將非物質掛毯非物質文化符號以可感知的方式保留下來。基於傳統的符號的創新和傳承。

四、結語

土家織錦作為現代非遺文化需要積澱，更需要創造。以現代時尚方式演繹土家織錦非遺手工藝文化，實現活態傳承；推動單一產品向系列產品拓展、產品向服務轉變、創作向「創造」轉變、單一產業向產業鏈衍生。探索多維融合的非遺手工藝產業發展新模式。以非遺手工藝為核心，借「非遺+文創」、「非遺+跨界延伸」，夯實非遺手工藝產業融合發展基礎，激發產業活力，打造集教育、休閒體驗、傳習、美食、收藏、展覽、會

務、文創禮品、出版、影視製作、學術研究和脫貧攻堅為一體的多元立體式非遺手工藝產業鏈。對於湘西土家織錦「年輕化」品牌塑造研究有著很大的幫助。

注釋

① 李夢瑤,黃幸傑,鄭昊,田少煦:《土家織錦非物質文化遺産的數位勘探與設計應用》,《湖南包裝》2020 年第 35 期,頁 28-32。

② 劉楊,吳凡,臧王爽:《文旅融合下的湘西土家織錦文創產品設計研究》,《綠色包裝》2021 年第 7 期,頁 86-89。

③ 岑雨晨:《弘揚民族文化 構建民族品牌——對土家織錦品牌化發展問題的思考》,《民族大家庭》2020 年第 1 期,頁 68。

④ 金書妍:《鄉村振興背景下民族文化品牌營造方略——以壯族天琴文化為例》,《廣西民族大學學報(哲學社會科學版)》2018 年第 40 期,頁 51-55。

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The Double Sources of the Legend of the White Snake and Its Overseas Influences

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Abstract: The study on sources of the Legend of the White Snake varies from scholar to scholar. It can be culturally related to the Chinese culture of evil spirits. Its elements were dispersedly shown in the Tang Legends and earlier Wei-Jin Mystery novels but never integrated into a complete story or text. Most scholars believe that the text of the White Snake was established in the script of Ming dynasty and developed in the opera of the Qing dynasty. There is a great difference between the text in Song and Ming dynasty and that in Qing dynasty and the source of the added plots such as "stealing a magical herb" and "The Leifeng Pagoda" are still needed to be under discussion. In this paper, the written texts in *Three Words* will be compared with the oral texts in *Baixue Yiyin* or other Chinese operas. These two sources are intertwined and resonated with each other in their development of the theme, the characteristic of white snake and the intention, and further reflect the contradiction between the imagination of the public and literary creation through multimedia retellings, and all of these further influence the spread of the Legend of the White Snake overseas.

Keywords: the legend of the white snake; oral source; written source; overseas spread

白蛇文本的雙線淵源及海外影響

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摘　要：白蛇文本的淵源學界意見不一，文化上溯源可至中國的精怪文化，散見於唐傳奇和更早的魏晉志怪小說，但無一個完整的故事和文本。多數學者認為白蛇文本在明代話本中定型，在清朝戲曲中得到發展增補。宋明的白蛇文本與清朝的白蛇文本呈現出較大的差異，驚變盜草、生子塔倒的情節來源也尚有討論餘地。本文將以《三言二拍》為代表的筆述文本和以《白雪遺音》及戲曲為代表的口述文本進行比較溯源，認為這兩條脈絡在故事主題、白蛇形象、寫作目的上各有側重，從中折射出大眾想像與文人創作的矛盾，並且進一步影響了白蛇故事在海外的傳播。

關鍵詞：白蛇傳；口述淵源；筆述淵源；海外傳播

引言

　　白蛇傳作為深植於中國民間的故事傳說，源流複雜，經歷了漫長的積累演變。對於白蛇傳的溯源研究學者們意見不一。有一部分學者從蛇文化和蛇女形象進行遠源研究，可以追溯到唐傳奇《太平廣記》中的李黃甚至更古早的蛇傳說。齊靜在《雷峰塔白蛇傳故事源流探析》中，將中國的精怪文化與蛇文化作為白蛇傳的古源，魏晉到唐宋的蛇故事及人蛇戀作為白蛇傳的近流，明清戲曲作為白蛇傳的發展與定型，並認為「白蛇傳的源流是從新的角度講述或延續老的故事。」[①] 日本學者川田耕在《〈白蛇傳〉中現代性的胎動》一文中也追溯了蛇在古代中國文化中的象徵意義。川田耕認為由於蛇與龍的文化意義逐漸分化，使得蛇的形象逐漸變得不詳，宋代以降，蛇與女性在民間故事中逐漸形成聯繫，二者都處於被邊緣化的地位。[②]

　　這種溯源雖然探析了白蛇背後的文化源流，但不論是在情節結構上還是形象塑造上，明清成型後至今的白蛇傳都與魏晉到唐的蛇傳說差異很大。戴不凡在《試論〈白蛇傳〉故事》一文中，也反駁了唐人小說和現有白蛇傳故事的關係，唐人小說中的故事「除了一條能變美婦的白蛇精以外，和現在的《白蛇傳》故事很少相同。」[③]

　　蛇女故事分佈在世界各地，具有相似的主題和結構。人蛇故事廣泛存在於世界各民族文化的傳說中，在國際通用的故事情節分類法即 AT 分類法中屬於 411 型，故白蛇的遠流記載並不能將具有中國特色的白蛇故事區分于其他文化。筆者認為，唐傳奇及之前流傳記載的蛇女故事，應歸結為程式故事（Formulas Stories）。程式故事指的是故事情節的模式化、公式化和格式化或故事版本的類同性。在民間文學中，寓言或故事有著相同的情節類型和母題庫。根據具體情境的不同，往往差異很大，不存在一個固定的源文本，在民俗學上被稱為「異文」。[④]

　　蛇女故事在世界各國都有著諸多版本，也見於中國不同歷史時期的記載中，宋之前的故事中並未顯示出不同于其他文化的特質，也與現在流傳的白蛇傳說面目迥異。唐傳奇及更早的魏晉志怪小說可視為一種「異文」現象或「程式故事」。如傅惜華認為白蛇傳故事的起源應在南宋時期，[⑤] 戈中博則認為白蛇傳故事的

起源應在北宋時期的河南湯陰的許家溝村,當地流傳的「白蛇鬧許仙」故事在宋室南遷以後在杭州一代廣泛流傳。許家溝村的白蛇故事已經有了報恩成親和水漫金山、生子拜塔等關鍵情節。⑥到了這個時期,白蛇傳故事才從程式故事中脫離出來,發展出家庭倫理、報恩等中國特色的因素,成為後世眼花繚亂的白蛇演繹的源頭。

本文中的文本是指一種泛文本概念,並且按照比較文學的理論觀點將文本淵源分為口傳和筆述,實際上白蛇文本的形式更加豐富,為了論述的條理性這裡只列舉了一些代表文本。

一、賢妻良母的集體想像,口述淵源下的白蛇文本

現在多數學者認為白蛇傳的故事是從明朝開始定型,清朝的戲曲彈詞等民間藝術則是沿襲自《三言》中《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》的故事。在這個過程中,白蛇故事的情節也產生了諸多變異,為了救被嚇死的許仙冒險盜取仙草和生下小狀元的情節讓白蛇成為一個賢妻良母的形象,逐漸脫離了妖氣,變得更加富有人性。

譚正璧先生所著的《三言二拍源流考》一書,對白娘子永鎮雷峰塔一捲進行了溯源,認為《盜草》《水鬥》諸事是清初黃圖珌所加,「白蛇產狀元」的故事由陳嘉言父女增加,方成培的改本則是根據俗本十餘種整理所成。⑦

如今梨園界也認為是陳嘉言父女根據各地伶工在演出中的創造、增補了《端陽》《水鬥》《斷橋》《指腹》《祭塔》等場次。⑧荷蘭漢學家伊維德則主張白蛇產子的情節形成於18世紀的舞臺表演中。⑨

儘管關於創作者的說法不一,但是這些說法都肯定了盜仙草、水鬥、生狀元的情節乃是清朝戲曲增加的部分,或是由戲曲作家所加,或是由伶工演出創作而成。然而這些情節在《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》中並無蹤跡可尋,顯示出自成脈絡的傾向。通過對下文中的民間口述白蛇文本的分析,可以看出這些情節是沿襲自民間的口傳體系,與《三言》故事平行發展甚至可能成型時間早於《三言》文本。

根據戈中博考據,白蛇傳應起源於一千多年前的北宋時期,發源于河南地區的「白蛇鬧許仙」,已經具備了報恩、盜仙草、水漫金山、產子倒塔等情節,是一個充滿民間美好想像的傳說。他認為馮夢龍筆下的《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》有「移花接木」「東拼西湊」「人為雕琢」的痕跡。這個民間傳說很有可能隨著宋室南遷流傳至杭州,同時在記載中受到文人有意的改動。⑩

另外,通過對民間俗曲的考察可以進一步看到口傳淵源的脈絡。《白雪遺音》是一部清朝俗曲集,由清華廣生輯錄,嘉慶九年(1804)編訂,道光八年(1828)由玉慶堂刊刻,收錄了清代嘉慶、道光年間俗曲。其中的《玩景觀山》一篇已經和《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》差異昭然,「玩景觀山在西湖岸,借傘在魚舡,贈銀還家,惹禍生端,搜入空花園,蘇州城,夫妻又得重相見,一對並頭蓮,慶賞端陽節,同飲雄黃把真形現,唬死了許仙,為盜靈芝、大戰白猿,因為盜仙丹,散瘟災,海島金山還香願,大戰在江邊,戰法師,水淹鎮江民塗炭,產下小狀元。」⑪這是以白蛇為故事主體,以報恩為主題的敘事模式。

儘管《白雪遺音》的編訂時間在1804年,但是其內容誕生遠在被收錄記載之前。其中的俗曲有悠久的傳唱歷史。學界在研究時一般也將其中反映的民俗人情視為明清社會的記錄。《玩景觀山》一篇故事完整、情節完整,成型時間很有可能在下文的戲劇文本之前。

使白蛇傳流傳更廣,各方面臻於成熟的是方成培的《雷峰塔傳奇》(1771年)。自敘:《雷峰塔傳奇》從來已久,不知何人所撰。其事散見於吳從先《小窗自紀》《西湖志》等書,好事者從而摭拾之,下里巴人,無足道者。方成培版本的《雷峰塔傳奇》流傳甚廣,保留在地方戲曲中,昆曲至今留存的《水鬥》《盜草》也沿襲於此,川劇也有扯符吊打一節。方成培的版本主要是依據民間傳說,因為應歸結為口傳淵源下的文本,與清初黃圖珌版本關聯不大,如黃裳所言方成培不會見過三十年前出版,又被觀眾遺忘的看山閣原本的,應屬於不

同脈絡下的創作。⑫方成培的《雷峰塔傳奇》的人物形象建立在民間的集體想像中,白娘子得到了極大美化,被賦予了「白雲仙姑」的名字,與許宣十分恩愛。此後的民間白蛇傳文本都受此版本影響,玉山主人創作的章回體小說《雷峰塔傳奇》,陳遇乾的《義妖傳》等等。這些作品都在保留一致的態度與故事框架,還衍生出一些藝術水準不高的,民間粗俗品味的作品如彈詞《義妖傳後集》。

從馮夢龍的《警世通言》完成的天啟四年(1624)至方成培版《雷峰塔傳奇》刊刻的乾隆三十七年(1771),百餘年間白蛇故事的核心發生了突兀的轉變。方成培所書《雷峰塔傳奇》是在民間故事的基礎上建立的,正如其在《自敘》闡述的那樣,早在方成培收集之前,《水鬥》《求草》《祭塔》已經形成並廣泛流傳,故事變得繁蕪異常。可見人性化的白蛇故事在民間流傳已久,並不是從《警世通言》中增補而來。反而可能是文人執筆的文本掩蓋了口傳白蛇故事中的人性色彩,試圖改寫故事核心使之成為一個教化故事。而來自民間故事的白蛇戲曲則沿襲了人性白蛇的態度和情節。這種核心態度的不同讓筆述白蛇與口傳白蛇形成了兩條不同的發展線索,並在不同的傳播形式中得以體現。

魯迅曾在文章中寫道:「試到吳越的山間海濱,探聽民意去。凡有田父野老,鹽婦村氓,除了幾個腦髓裡有點貴恙的之外,可有誰不為白娘子抱不平,不怪法海太多事的?」⑬民間的白蛇傳已經形成了「文本共同體」。儘管受到教化故事的干擾,民間的白蛇故事始終有著自己的脈絡特色,口述淵源下的白蛇傳承載了民間對賢妻良母的倫理化想像,表現出濃厚的家庭意識,廣大民眾對白娘子的悲劇抱有深切的同情,這些特點沿襲至今,成為多數白蛇傳文本的基本立場。

二、警世與教化,筆述淵源下的白娘子

多數學者認為《三言二拍》卷二十八《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》是白蛇傳的定型作品,也有學者認為宋話本《清平山堂平話》中的《西湖三塔記》是「許仙故事的雛形」。譚正璧在《三言二拍源流考》中認為《西湖三塔記》是《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》,《西湖佳話》卷十五《雷峰怪跡》,《雷峰塔》小說及傳奇和《義妖傳》彈詞等的藍本。呂洪年也認為《西湖三塔記》是最早的白蛇故事。

《西湖三塔記》和《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》都突顯了白蛇形象的妖性色彩,在情節上也有諸多相似之處,如上文所述這是警示教化目的下的蛇妖害人的故事。馮夢龍的《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》一卷,移植了《西湖三塔記》的情節,又融入了民間故事的內容,也就是戈中博所說的「移花接木」。《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》在情節上更為完整成熟,又有明確的教化意圖,在後世流傳中影響更大,因此筆者贊同將《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》視為筆述白蛇傳的定型之作。

馮夢龍的《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》具有濃厚的個人創作色彩,儘管作者強調了自己寫作的教化意義,但是王蒙認為這個題目「白娘子」三個字實際上肯定了白蛇「人」的性質,「永鎮」也帶著遺憾。⑭根據前文的梳理也可以推測,這種遺憾和「人」的性質,是根植在口傳故事中的特質。馮夢龍的在改寫過程中不可能完全剔除民間痕跡,這種「移花接木」的痕跡也是白蛇傳分化為兩條發展脈絡的痕跡。

馮夢龍的小說在教化目的和文本塑造上形成的這種矛盾,既是傳統的情與理的衝突,也是文人敘事對民間故事的干擾。馮夢龍的白蛇故事雖然是在民間傳說的基礎上創作而成,但是誠如呂洪年所言:「古代沒有『忠實記錄』的原則」。文人在創作過程中受傳統道德觀影響較大,很大程度上會偏離民間文學的原貌。文人執筆下的蛇妖故事,從唐傳奇開始,蛇的形象就非常可怕,宋代更是將蛇與女性聯繫在一起,蛇女代表著淫亂與危險。馮夢龍沿襲了這種態度,在民間故事的基礎上著力渲染白娘子陰鷙狠毒的一面,出於警示的目的設置了白娘子威脅許宣,偷盜和糾纏不休的情節。

馮夢龍在《醒世恒言・敘》中稱「明者,取其可以導愚也;通者,取其可以適俗也;恒則習之不厭,傳之可

久。」寫書的目的在於「有益教化」。[15]這種「人工雕琢」的教化故事隨著《三言》的刊刻流傳形成了與口傳白蛇故事不一樣的筆述白蛇文本脈絡。

筆述淵源下的白蛇文本,故事主體以身為男性的許宣或許仙為主,對白娘子的刻畫集中美貌的誘惑和對男人的糾纏。在國內影響了清初黃圖珌的《看山閣樂府雷峰塔》,李斌在《白蛇傳的現代闡釋》中認為黃圖珌所參考的前人之齒吻極有可能就是《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》。雖然是作為戲曲文本,但是黃圖珌版本堅持人妖有別,對民間演出中有「白娘生子得第」一節也持反對意見,主張與「永鎮」一脈相承的悲劇結局。[16]而在海外,由於書籍這種載體在海外傳播中的主要地位,很長一段時間這種筆述淵源下的白蛇傳佔據了傳播和改編的主要位置。

黃圖珌對民間演出版本白蛇傳的批評,進一步體現了文人筆述與民間口傳兩條創作淵源的衝突。文人執筆的《白蛇傳》堅持人妖有別的倫理觀,將白蛇視為淫亂與兇殘的妖性之軀,反射出男性的欲望與恐懼,背後都有著強烈的教化目的。民間的集體創作則出於百姓對家庭生活的嚮往,將白蛇的妻子身份放大,逐漸人性化,通過生子情節完成了從蛇妖到賢妻良母的身份轉換。

三、雙線淵源的形成與海外影響

呂洪年在《〈白蛇傳〉的古源與今流》一文中已經指出文人創作和民間創作在承襲源流上、創作目的和發展線路的不同。因此將白蛇傳說與《白蛇傳》分開來談,將文人創作的白蛇故事歸為《白蛇傳》,民間流傳的白蛇故事歸為白蛇傳說。[17]

本文以比較文學中淵源學的分類將白蛇文本分為口述淵源與筆述淵源兩條發展脈絡。認為現有的白蛇傳說文本系統具有兩條略有差異的淵源系統。

一個是民間口口相傳的口述淵源,成型時間可能早在明朝之前,在方成培創作《雷峰塔傳奇》前已經廣為流傳。白娘子在民間傳說中已經是一個報恩救夫,生下狀元的充滿人性的形象,投射出民間對完美妻子形象的想像和濃厚的生育倫理觀。清朝戲曲中的白蛇傳情節也並非承襲自《三言二拍》,而是與這種口述淵源一脈相承。

以《三言二拍》為代表的筆述淵源則受教化目的和文人趣味的影響,偏重於表現蛇女的可怖,以此警醒世人,並且對歷史更為悠久的口傳文本進行了有目的的改寫。在白蛇文本的演變中,文人執筆與民間集體創作的矛盾時隱時現。

雙線淵源的形成與演變進一步影響到了白蛇故事的海外傳播,筆述白蛇傳的主要載體是書籍,口述白蛇的載體更多樣,包括戲曲、彈詞等民間表演形式。書籍在古代的海外傳播中占主導地位,故白蛇形象在海外傳播中常是淫亂狠毒的蛇妖形象,海外對白蛇傳的譯介與改編也多參照筆述白蛇傳,這也給海外的白蛇改編作品留下了妖氣詭異的故事底色。儘管近代海內外交流變得方便,口傳白蛇故事也逐漸傳播到海外,但是筆述白蛇傳中的諸多情節和妖性氣質依然留存在海外的白蛇作品中。這與國內早已習慣的賢妻良母式白蛇故事形成了有趣的對照。

白蛇傳很早就隨著書籍流傳到了日本,有著悠久的改編歷史。從江戶時代到20世紀的日本電影,都有白蛇傳的身影。這些改編大多以馮夢龍的書籍為底本,與國內的筆述白蛇傳一脈相承。日本江戶時代的作家上田秋成(1734—1809)根據馮夢龍《三言》中的《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》一卷創作了《蛇性之淫》,收錄於《雨月物語》一書。從題目上即能看出故事沿襲了蛇女惑人的主題,保留了白蛇對男性主角兩次追逐的情節,甚至更加突出了蛇妖的淫亂情欲和狠毒的性格。上田秋成還將白蛇傳與日本的道成寺傳說融為一體,將情欲與人間倫理的衝突推至高點。

由於中日之間主要是以書籍為傳播方式，日本流傳的白蛇傳故事受白蛇傳筆述淵源的影響較大，都保持了妖氣彌漫的氣質，呈現出和中國白蛇傳不一樣的發展傾向。直到 1956 日本拍攝的電影《蛇性之淫》依舊是以上田秋成的原作為底本，沿襲了白蛇傳故事中女性魅惑殘忍的一面。相較於中國的複雜流變，日本對白蛇文本的演繹更多的保留了筆述淵源中的蛇妖元素。

直到近代中外交流變得更加頻繁，口述白蛇文本通過個人譯介才開始對海外產生影響，並且逐漸佔據了傳播上風。由羅靚著，王佳姝譯的《「真知」與「迷思」，「先鋒」與「流行」的交織與共振——二十世紀之交的白蛇傳說重述與白蛇表演新變》一文中提到「馮夢龍版本在十七世紀末似乎已經退出了流通」，二十世紀的之交白蛇傳的兩部重要英文譯作，美國傳教士吳板橋的《白蛇之迷》和美國外交官克勞德的《杭州：天堂之門》，都受到了口述文本彈詞版白蛇傳的影響，吳板橋居於鎮江，鎮江的故事講述也成為《白蛇之迷》的資源。⑱

而在近代日本，根據林芳雄的小說改編的同名電影《白夫人的妖戀》(1956) 也出現了盜仙草和爆發瘟疫這一鎮江傳說的情節。但是由於筆述白蛇傳的長久影響，電影中的白蛇依然是妖性濃厚的形象。電影中保留了《白娘子永鎮雷峰塔》中的盜取庫銀和兩次追逐許仙的情節，並且在很多場面展現了白娘子作為情欲的化身對許仙的誘惑。電影中，許仙將白娘子贈予他的紅色紗巾覆蓋在臉上，深深地沉陷於對白娘子的迷戀。這種情欲與誘惑的展現，正是沿襲了筆述白蛇傳對蛇妖惑人的書寫。儘管口傳故事中的瘟疫情節也已進入電影中，但是卻發生了極大變異。在中國民間故事中，白娘子為了挽救百姓性命，上山采藥熬製成湯解除瘟疫。但是在這部電影中，白娘子為了取悅許仙，指使小青下毒，以此讓家中的藥鋪生意興隆。這種看似匪夷所思的情節，考慮到筆述白蛇傳對日本的影響，便可以解釋這種陰毒的行為。從江戶時代傳入日本的白蛇故事，都是文人執筆的具有警示意義的白蛇傳，具有妖性的白蛇形象根深蒂固，展示了筆述白蛇傳在海外的強大悠久的影響力。

隨後日本繼續推出了動畫電影《白蛇傳》(1958)，其中加入了求仙草和水漫金山這兩處脫胎於口述淵源下的故事情節，並且口述白蛇傳中充滿人間溫情的演繹和白娘子情意深重的形象也影響到了這部動畫。動畫中白娘子為了拯救許仙，甘願放棄自己身為妖的力量和永恆生命，這個情節脫胎於「盜仙草」的情節，展現了白蛇人性的一面。在水漫金山中，儘管力量微薄，但還是乘船前去金山寺，冒著生命危險希望見到許仙，已經轉變為一個情深義重的妻子形象。故事最後走向大團圓結局，白娘子與許仙長相廝守。即是迎合動畫的受眾，也展現出近代交流中，口傳白蛇故事對海外作品的影響。

口傳與筆述，這兩條文本脈絡，在近代複雜的跨媒介演繹下逐漸產生交叉與互動，帶給白蛇文本更多的張力與內涵。白蛇文本的演繹具有歷史悠久、跨媒介的特點。梳理清其淵源上的雙線脈絡，從中透視時代下的文化變遷與創作衝突，理解白蛇文本中複雜的政治、性別、隱喻色彩。對當下方興未艾的白蛇文本改編也具有借鑒意義。

注釋

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[Pedagogy]

Changes of Japanese Majors' Learning Motivation
from the Perspective of New Liberal Arts

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the changes in the motivation of Japanese majors with a view to finding ways to improve the quality of foreign language education. Based on the field investigation results of Japanese majors and students from Grade One to Grade Three in Tianjin Foreign Studies University, this paper tries to explain the reasons why students keep and change their learning motivation, and then explore a new mode of teaching support service for Japanese majors from the perspective of new liberal arts, to provide a scientific basis for improving the quality of foreign language education for majors in universities. The following conclusions are drawn through the statistics and analysis of the survey results. First, from the source of students, non-university areas, the proportion of non-urban students than the same survey rate. Second, the students learning motivation has changed from the subjective perceptual motivation such as the simple interest and longing for the Japanese language and Japanese social culture to the rational motivation dominated by the objective aspirations such as the study of the Japanese language and the acquisition of interests. Thirdly, the concept of university education and teaching and educational resources and services are the influencing factors of students' motivation to keep. Fourthly, it is essential to strengthening the teaching of basic Japanese and cross-cultural communication in the context of globalization of higher education.

Keywords: Japanese major; learning motivation; teaching service; field research; dynamic analysis

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Introduction

According to separate statistics published by the Japan Foundation for International Exchange in 2019, the number of Japanese language learners at Chinese mainland higher education institutions increased from about

530,000 in 2014 to about 660,000 in 2018 (Japan Foundation 2019). There are relatively few large-scale empirical studies on Japanese professional education in colleges and universities in China, the composition of students and learning motivation. Under the background of educational globalization, the development of higher education in China has also ushered in the diversification of Japanese majors' idiosyncratic abilities. Ensuring quality and improving teaching efficiency are the challenges faced by Japanese teaching in higher education. From the perspective of learner-orientedness, this study will investigate the relationship between education providers and education demanders and select universities with representative Japanese majors in Chinese universities to investigate and analyze students' Japanese learning motivation by exploring the changes in Japanese language students' motivation for learning with a view to improving the quality of education.

1 Research Purposes and Selection of Field Research Objects

Through the field research, a collective questionnaire survey was conducted among students in school. Through quantitative analysis and field investigation, analyzing the changing trends of learning motivation before and after entering school and based on the survey results of university education institutions, this paper attempts to explain the reasons behind students' keeping and changing their learning motivation, and makes a bidirectional dynamic analysis of education demand-side and education supply side in university education, to explore a new model of teaching support service for Japanese majors, and provide a scientific basis for improving the quality of foreign language education for university majors. The Japanese language institute of Tianjin Foreign Studies University is chosen as the field research object for the following reasons. First, In terms of the history of Japanese teaching and the scale of running a school, Japanese major began in 1973, and now it has formed a complete training level of undergraduate, master and doctoral degrees.

At present, among more than 500 Japanese majors in colleges and universities in China, students rank second[1]. Secondly, in terms of Japanese teaching level, from 2013 to 2018, the School of Japanese of Tianjin Foreign Studies University was the secretariat of the National Japanese Teaching Research Association, the joint cooperative unit of Japanese language education of Japan International Exchange Foundation in China, and one of the centres of Japanese teaching and research in China. It has been at the forefront of Japanese majors in China in constructing high-level teachers, high-quality achievements and high-level personnel training[2]. Thirdly, in terms of international exchanges between universities and the economic situation of foreign investment in the region, Tianjin Foreign Studies University has established friendly inter-school exchange relations with 28 Japanese institutions of higher learning. According to the statistics of "List of Enterprises Entering and Exiting China" published by Sososha in 2018−2019, as of September 2018, there were 536 enterprise legal persons and offices registered in Tianjin, which had a continuous demand for Japanese professionals.

2 The Field Research Content and the Fundamental Situation Analysis

2.1 *The methods and contents of field research*

In accordance with the above-mentioned research objectives, this paper focuses on the issue of students'

motivation, which is the main concern of foreign language learning research, in order to sharpen the characteristics of the relationship between the supply and demand sides of educational and teaching activities in university foreign language education.

This is because a correct grasp of the change process of learners' motivation is an important guarantee for mobilizing and motivating learners' motivation and motivation in the long term. This paper mainly draws on and adopts the survey index items related to the "Study on the New System of Distance Higher Education in China" (Liu Yong 2006)[3], and conducts a collective questionnaire survey on university education enrolled students to address the following topics through a quantitative analysis and a comparative analysis of the field visit research situation.

First, the questionnaire survey was used to understand the composition of students majoring in Japanese language education at the university under the new social conditions. The regional distribution of students, their families' household registration and parents' professional differences explain the social significance and effects of the Japanese language education program at the university.

Questions such as whether students come from remote rural areasor large cities, whether their families have agricultural or non-agricultural household registration, how many school students have parents whose occupations belong to socially marginalized groups, etc. need to be explain. Second, the results of the questionnaire are processed using statistical methods to summarize the specific types of motivational structures of university Japanese majors. At the same time, in order to reflect more accurately, the different characteristics of the beginner level and the intermediate and advanced level of Japanese language are to be analyzed. Third, based on the statistical results, a two-way dynamic analysis of the demand side of education and the supply side of education in the context of university education is conducted. Whether the influence of university education factors is reflected behind the changes in students' motivation to learn, and which of the students' motivation to learn is related to teaching measures and service environment.

There are two main features of the survey design as well as the analysis of the results in this paper. First, a stratified sample was taken at different grade levels to analyze the patterns of learners and their motivation in relation to academic performance, which were easily overlooked in prior studies. Second, it concentrates on the rational design and analysis of comprehensive indicators of students' motivation and academic performance, students' gender, and study abroad experience: to find out the main factors affecting students' learning motivation, to propose targeted opinions on how to improve teaching in the future, and to explore new modes of teaching Japanese in the new period and form.

In May 2019, a questionnaire survey was conducted among students majoring in Japanese at Tianjin Foreign Studies University. The questionnaire is directly distributed and directly collected. A total of 800 paper questionnaires were distributed, and 623 were effectively recovered, with an effective recovery rate of 78%. The questionnaire includes students' attributes, family and regional sources, time of major study activities and examination results of professional courses, and learning motivation before and after enrollment. This study will focus on analyzing the basic situation of all students in school, the whole from grade one to grade three, and the change process of learning motivation before and after entering school[4].

2. 2 Analysis of social information composition of students in school

Gender		Source of students		Regional distribution of students		Parents' household registration		Parents' occupational groups	
Female	Male	Non-Tianjin	Tianjin	Rural (county/township/village)	Cities	Agricultural household registration	Non-agricultural household registration	Low social status	High social status
83%	17%	62%	38%	43% (17%/26%)	57%	33%	67%	35%	65%

Table 1: Percentage of respondents in major Japanese survey (N=623)

As shown in Table 1[⑤], girls make up more than 80 per cent of the student population, reflecting the traditional phenomenon of the sex ratio of foreign language learners. Regarding the significant indicators of great sociological significance, the ratio of students from other provinces and cities to students from Tianjin is about 62% to 38%. On the one hand, this result shows that the Tianjin Foreign Studies University plays an active role in balancing regional differences in access to higher education; On the other hand, there are differences in entrance scores between Tianjin students and students from other provinces and cities. The ratio of rural students to urban students is 4. 3 to 5. 7, reflecting that Japanese majors provide opportunities for children in rural and remote areas to train foreign language talents[⑥].

In addition, from the household registrations of the students' parents, this proportion is the same as the proportion of rural students absorbed by the subordinate colleges and higher vocational colleges in other higher education surveys. In terms of the occupational characteristics of the parents of the students, the proportion of the occupational groups with lower social status was 34%, almost the same as the proportion of 34. 7% in the affiliated institutions. Japanese majors in local foreign language universities provide opportunities for students in rural and remote areas to train foreign language talents and opportunities for lower social status professional groups to further their studies.

3 Analysis of Learning Motivation of Students in School

3. 1 An analysis of students' learning motivation

Based on the existing research, 34 primary Japanese students' learning motivation questionnaires are designed, which are called the original variables in the following analysis. Four choices are given for each item (in order: one very inconsistent, two inconsistent, three consistent, four very consistent). In order to have a comprehensive understanding of students learning motivation, the factor analysis method is used to analyze the potential variables to explain the original objective variables. Results Eight common factors were extracted from the original variables of students' learning motivation before and after enrollment (The internal reliability coefficients are all >0. 9, and the reliability is good); they are named as: the first common factor: the aspiration of modern Japanese culture, second common factor: Japanese research ambition, the third common factor: mastering Japanese written information ambition, the fourth common factor: Profit instruments aspirations, the fifth common factor: cross-cultural communication ambition, the sixth common factor: interest ambition of

Japanese related knowledge, the seventh common factor: motivation ambition of shared cultural background and the eighth common factor: professional translation ambition. The above summary summarizes the specific types of motivation of university Japanese majors and reflects the different characteristics of the beginner level and the intermediate and advanced level of Japanese language. On this basis, the original investigation items with a factor load above 0. 50 are selected, and the items with the same attributes are classified and compared. The following is a detailed analysis of the statistical results, explaining the changes in students' learning motivation before and after entering school[⑦].

3. 2   Comparative analysis of students' learning motivation before and after enrollment

Before entering school, the ambition of modern Japanese culture, the ambition of Japanese research and the ambition of mastering Japanese knowledge and information are in the top three respectively; After entering school; the top three learning motives are Japanese research ambition, Japanese cultural longing ambition and Profit instruments aspirations. With the deepening of Japanese learning, students begin to pay attention to and think about their future after graduation. The factors of Japanese research and interest tool acquisition ambition have increased in the ranking of the importance of affecting students' learning motivation. This result also reflects the current trend that the proportion of Japanese language graduates applying for graduate school is increasing year by year. In addition, college students born after 1990 have been influenced by Japanese animation since childhood. Influenced by Japanese anime, the ambition of modern Japanese culture before entering school occupies the most important position. After entering school, the Japanese professional study and in-depth understanding of Japanese society stimulate and promote students' enthusiasm for scientific research to a great extent. Before entering school, the fourth Profit instruments aspirations, and jumped to the second place after entering school. Many Japanese-funded enterprises settled in Tianjin, providing employment opportunities for local professional college students. The analysis of the employment rate of foreign companies with more than 25% of graduates indirectly proves that there is a strong correlation between students' motivation and the use of Japanese to pursue a career.

3. 3   The comparison of learning motivation of students of different grades after entering school

An analysis of the student population showed that the same eight categories of motivation were extracted as a common factor before and after admission. When the factor analysis is carried out step by step by grade, it is found that the common factors obtained by grade keep their independent characteristics and, at the same time, take into account the information of the original variables of other factors. For the convenience of comparative analysis, the common factors obtained my grades are no longer named independently. However, their names are determined by way of accumulating the names of the original common factors mentioned above, and the order before and after the name accumulation is determined according to the factor load. For example, all students have Japanese research aspirations before entering school. However, after entering the first grade, they have Japanese research aspirations and Japanese knowledge interest aspirations, so they are accumulated into Japanese research interest aspirations. As shown in Table 2, the first learning motivation of Grade One and Grade Two shows a diversified trend. After entering school, the interest in studying Japanese cultural knowledge increases, and the objects are more extensive. When analyzing all students before, it belongs to the content of deep

understanding motivation of Japanese social culture, which is included in the first factor characteristics after entering school in Grade One and Grade Two. It shows that the depth and breadth of students' learning are deepening, and students show an intense thirst for knowledge to absorb more professional knowledge. In the critical Japanese bare stage, strengthening and enriching learning support services and educational resources is particularly important for professional Japanese learners entering the intermediate learning stage[⑧].

First Grade (N=213)			Second Grade (N=115)			Third Grade (N =228)		
Type of motivation	Questionnaire items	Load capacity	Type of motivation	Questionnai-re items	Load capacity	Type of motivation	Questionnaire items	Load capacity
Japanese research knowledge interest character information ambition	Studying theJapanese economy	0. 756	Knowledge interest and the ambition of mastering Japanese character information	Interest in Japanese studies	0. 764	Profit instruments aspirations	Japanese companies have an interest in working	0. 702
	Studying Japanese society	0. 696		Interest in Japanese literature	0. 635		Learning Japanese pays well	0. 743
	Studying Japanese literature and education	0. 674		Japanese interest in education	0. 709		Learning Japanese is good for your job	0. 785
	Interest in Japanese literature	0. 579		Studying Japanese literature	0. 617		Japanese firms are better off in the office	0. 812
	Japanese interest in education	0. 662		Studying Japanese literature and education	0. 524	The vision of modern Japanese language and culture	Japanese songs and movies	0. 875
	Japanese social interest	0. 691		Reading Japanese novels	0. 569		Manga	0. 796
	Japan's economic interests	0. 809	The acquisition of interest tools and the vision of modern Japanese language and culture	Japanese companies have an interest in working	0. 796		Japanese magazine	0. 593

First Grade (N=213)			Second Grade (N=115)			Third Grade (N=228)		
Type of motivation	Questionnaire items	Load capacity	Type of motivation	Questionnaire items	Load capacity	Type of motivation	Questionnaire items	Load capacity
	Interest in Japanese studies	0.576		Money to learn Japanese	0.824		Japanese TV animation	0.615
	Professional articles in Japanese	0.514		Japanese is good for the job	0.793	The ambition of mastering Japanese character information	Reading Japanese novels	0.681
The vision of modern Japanese language and culture	like Japanese	0.553		Japanese firms are better off in the office	0.749		Reading Japanese news on the Internet	0.689
	Japanese song, film and television	0.749		like Japanese	0.521		Read articles on Japanese	0.649
	Manga	0.741		Japanese song, film and television	0.708	Japan's interest in research knowledge	Studying the Japanese economy	0.775
	Japanese magazine	0.708		Manga	0.806		Studying Japanese society	0.751
	Japanese TV animation	0.584		Japanese magazine	0.596		Studying Japanese literature and education	0.504
Profit instruments aspirations	Japanese companies have an interest in working	0.672		Japanese goods	0.523		Japan's economic interests	0.567
	Money to learn Japanese	0.691		Japanese TV animation	0.562			

Table 2: Comparison of learning motivation and ambition among first, second and third-grade students after entering school

It is worth noting that after three years of professional study, students still keep their aspirations for Japanese culture before entering school, which shows that Japanese learning is closely related to students' interests. Centralized classroom teaching is the core of teaching mode, and participatory learning can improve classroom teaching and promote students' autonomous and spontaneous learning. The ambition of professional translation

has risen from the last place in the first grade to the fourth place. First-year students are fresh high school graduates who have no Japanese learning experience. At the beginning of learning a new language, many students will be reluctant, afraid of difficulties and uneasy, which will affect students' self-efficacy. Therefore, it is particularly crucial to build confidence and cultivate interest. According to the analysis of the characteristics of college students in the past studies, the longing for and interest in modern Japanese social culture belong to the comprehensive type. In contrast, Japanese studies belong to the deep research type[⑨]. The essential purpose of studying deep modelling motivation is to give up the consideration of income temporarily objectively. This survey shows that students' learning motivation has changed from comprehensive type to research type, which reflects that subject atmosphere plays a subtle role in students' learning motivation. From the overall learning motivation changes in the three grades, students' Japanese learning started from zero before entering school. There is no noticeable difference in learning motivation among the respondents, which has substantial homogeneity. However, after more than one year's study and life, the learning motivation of all the respondents has experienced a process of diversification and integration and tends to be precise and personalized. It reflects the diversity of Japanese teaching and the role of the factors behind selectivity in autonomous learning. Based on the statistical results, combined with the two-way dynamic analysis of the demand side of education and the supply side of education, it is proved that the influence of the educational factors of the university is fully reflected behind the changes in the students' motivation to learn, which is related to the foreign language education measures and the service support environment.

4   Conclusion

This thesis is based on the field investigation results of the basic situation and learning motivation of Japanese majors and students from Grade One to Grade Three in Tianjin Foreign Studies University, Based on the theory that learning motivation affects learning effect, according to the actual situation of different grades, using the statistical analysis method of factor analysis, analyze and compare the changing trends of learning motivation before and after entering school, and combined with the results of the investigation of university educational institutions, the reasons behind students' keeping and changing their learning motivation are explained and analyzed, thus providing scientific basis for exploring and discovering a new mode of teaching support service for Japanese majors and ensuring and improving the quality of foreign language education for universities. Through analysis and investigation, the following conclusions are drawn. First, from the perspective of students' regional sources, the distribution of students reflects that Japanese majors in foreign language colleges provide opportunities for children in rural and remote areas and social and occupational vulnerable groups to receive higher foreign language education. Second, students' learning motivation has changed from subjective motivation such as simple interest in Japanese before entering school to objective motivation such as Japanese research and obtaining benefits. Third, education and teaching ideas adapted to students' needs, teachers, and other educational resources and services affect students' motivation. The survey results show a close relationship between students' motivation and using Japanese to seek jobs. It is necessary to add career planning and other related content to elective courses. At the same time, how to establish and consolidate the communication and cooperation between universities and related enterprises is essential, which can play an excellent guiding role for

teachers and students to grasp and improve the direction of teaching and learning. With the deepening of Japanese learning and the improvement of the Japanese language level, the students' professional translation ambition motivation gradually rises. Professional translation ambition is independent of the profit instruments aspirations, which is a unique and challenging profession. What teaching methods should be adopted to guide students to gain confidence is an important issue. Although pure business workplace translation maintains certain social needs, to meet the requirements of the future society for talents with cross-cultural communicative competence and accurately express and convey Chinese voice to the world, the characteristics and importance of translation major are still the top priority foreign language universities. The results of this motivation-centred survey also prove that the supply and demand of university education providers and demanders are consistent from another angle.

The results of the analysis of a stratified sample by different grades, the learning patterns of learners, and the issue of the relationship between their motivation and academic performance were clarified. At the same time, we analyzed and examined the correlation between students' motivation and the comprehensive indicators of academic performance, students' gender, and study abroad experience, and found out the main factors affecting students' motivation, and put forward targeted opinions on how to improve foreign language education activities in the future, which will be beneficial for exploring a new model of Japanese language education in the new liberal arts perspective. For the first time, this study proves the close relationship between learning motivation and teaching service by empirical method and scientific investigation with solid visibility. Here, this study puts forward the following suggestions for the future teaching of college Japanese majors.

First, in the primary stage of Japanese learning, we should continue to make good use of Japanese pronunciation and intonation and use various network resources to let students listen, see and imitate more. Use international cyberspace to conduct live cloud classroom connection activities with friendly universities. Let students get in touch with the original Japanese in the primary stage of Japanese learning, and at the same time become good friends with Japanese college students, and further expand offline communication through various channels such as WeChat and email, to enhance students' learning motivation and interest.

Second, students with a certain Japanese foundation are encouraged to participate in various Japanese-related competitions organized by third parties, such as speech contests, composition contests, dubbing contests, etc., and carry out mass Japanese learning activities through layer-by-layer selection. Actively organize students to take the Japanese proficiency test, give full play to the characteristics of advanced Japanese and students' strong absorption, promote learning by the test, and realize the transformation from oral listening and speaking ability to article reading and writing ability, even translation ability.

Third, according to the multiple needs of senior students, such as employment, graduation thesis and postgraduate entrance examination, we should increase and improve internship opportunities in Japanese-funded enterprises and related institutions in Japan. By using activities such as exchange of short-term visits to study abroad, we can set topics and introduce experiences so that students can bring practical enlightenment and benefits to Japanese teaching before, during and after studying abroad. Make learning support services meet students' multiple needs.

As a future research topic, the differences in students' learning motivation are tested according to social indicators such as students' gender, origin area and social status of parents' occupation. The specific learning motivations of students with different regional characteristics and family backgrounds need to be further

discussed.

Notes:

① There are about 1200 undergraduates in the Japanese College of Tianjin Foreign Studies University and about 3500 undergraduates in Dalian Foreign Studies University, ranking first in China.

② Since the new century, the College of Japanese has won dozens of national, provincial and ministerial scientific research projects and has been identified as a national key discipline of foreign languages.

③ Liu Yong. (2006). A study of a new system of distance higher education in China: Centering on radio and television universities. Nagoya University Library Collection, CiNii (Academic Information Navigation System) Search Japanese Doctoral Dissertation, unpublished, 75－78.

④ The reasons why the fourth-grade students are not taken as the object of learning motivation analysis. First, the fourth grade is different from the other three grades in the number and content of teaching and course selection. Second, Fourth-grade students are facing the choice and preparation for further education and employment after graduation. Third, Fourth-grade students need to write a graduation thesis in the second semester, which has a special nature compared with the other three grades.

⑤ Students' age is not included in Table 1. The survey results show that the average age of Japanese majors is graduating. Compared with the early stage of reform and opening up, there is no in-service staff in the same class, so the learning motivation will not be biased due to age differences.

⑥ According to the current research on the definition of rural areas in China, this study defines the administrative units below the county as rural areas. Education-related research shows that the proportion of students in rural local colleges and universities in China is 25％ － 30％.

⑦ Following other relevant social education research methods, this study defines the group whose father is engaged in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, migrant workers, production and transportation equipment operation or has no occupation as the occupational group with low social status.

⑧ The primary variable items of the questionnaire on students' learning motivation contained in each common factor are as follows: Vision and ambition of modern Japanese culture: like Japanese, like Japanese film and television works, like Japanese animation, like Japanese goods, like Japanese magazines and watch Japanese animation; Japanese research ambition: want to study Japanese literature, want to apply for graduate students, want to study Japanese economy, want to study Japanese society, want to study Japanese culture and education; Master the ambition of Japanese text information: read Japanese novels, read Japanese newspapers and web pages, and write Japanese professional articles; Interest tool acquisition ambition: working in a Japanese enterprise can benefit one's life, learning Japanese can make one's economy rich, learning Japanese is helpful for taking office in the future, and taking office in a Japanese enterprise can make one's life rich; Cross-cultural communication ambition: communicate with Japan and Japanese friends. He studied in Japan, worked in Japan and studied Japanese, so he can become a world-class talent with global vision; Japanese related knowledge and aspirations: interested in Japanese literature, Japanese education, Japanese culture, Japanese society and Japanese economy; Common cultural background inspires ambition: it is easy to learn Japanese, there are many Chinese characters in Japanese, and Chinese and Japanese cultures have a lot in common; Professional translation ambition. Want to be a professional interpreter, want to be a professional translator.

⑨ Because the order of factors depends on the importance of the factor in the variables, the factor load shows that the factor is closely related to the original variables. Therefore, the higher the learning motivation factor is the stronger its importance is and vice versa.

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On Conceptual Metonymy Represented Across Two Languages

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Abstract: Metonymy in cognitive linguistic studies is conceptual. But it is frequently represented by means of language. The previous studies focus on the metonymy of one single language and its target domain is not expressed. Based on the mechanism of conceptual metonymy, this paper studies some translations and argues that translating is the process of making metonymy, so metonymy can be cross-linguistical represented. That is, the source domain and target domain can belong to the target language and source language respectively. Cross-linguistically represented metonymy belongs to conceptual metonymy.

Keywords: conceptual metonymy; cross-linguistical representation; translation approach; translating

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跨語言表征的概念轉喻

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摘　要：認知語言學視域下，轉喻是概念性的，但概念轉喻的表征常常借助於語言。已有研究對轉喻的使用和理解的討論大都局限在單一語言中，且轉喻目標常常無語言表征。基於概念轉喻的運作機製，從翻譯結果反觀翻譯過程，可以看到，轉喻之施喻行為可以發生在一些翻譯過程之中。轉喻的源域和靶域用兩種不同語言的表征：源域用譯語表征，而靶域用原語表征。這種轉喻可稱為跨語言表征的概念轉喻。這種體現為譯者翻譯策略的認知方式，是概念轉喻的一種特殊形式。本研究屬於基於翻譯的認知語言學研究。

引言

轉喻曾被視為語言層面的修辭格。上世紀80到90年代，隨著認知語言學對概念隱喻研究的深入，轉喻作為一種認知機製引起學界關註。近年轉喻研究進一步被推向新的高潮，成為認知語言學研究熱點之一。國內外不僅有大量論文發表，還陸續出版了一些高質量有影響的論文集和專著，如 Panther & Radden（1999）、Barcelona（2000）、Dirven & Poring（2002）、Panther & Thornburg（2003）、束定芳（2011）、Ruiz de Mendoza & Campo（2002）、張輝、盧衛中（2010）、Littlemore（2015）、張煒煒（2020）等。縱觀這些研究，對轉喻的使用和理解都是基於單一語言進行的。比如：

1a. It is a scene no pen can finally describe.
1b. The White House made no comment.
1c. 她嫁給了金錢。
1d. 陳醫生明天上午有刀。

對於（1a）和（1b），言者和聽者通常對「pen」和「The White House」的使用和理解通常會自然地識別轉喻目標，即「writer」和「American Government」。而（1c）和（1d），言者和聽者通常對「金錢」和「刀」的使用和理解通常會自然地識別「有錢人」和「手術」對於這些表達中的轉喻，言者和聽者很可能是單一語言使用者，自然地以該語為媒介對該轉喻加以使用和理解。同時，這些轉喻中，轉喻目標並沒有呈現為語言形式。這是常規的轉喻研究的情況。然而我們也註意到以下翻譯現象：

2a. I am not a smoker.
2b. 我不抽煙。
2c. 寶釵獨自行來，順路進了怡紅院，……不想步入院中，鴉鵲無聲。
2d. Pao-chai walked on alone to Happy Red Court … To her surprise, the court was utterly quiet. （楊憲益、戴乃疊譯）

例（2a）中，「a smoker」（抽煙者）被譯為「抽煙」。在概念上譯文用「行為」表述了原文的「行為者」。例（2c），「鴉鵲無聲」被譯為「utterly quiet」（寂靜），原文是譯文的例示，屬於「具體與抽象」的關系。

這種現象從認知上該如何解釋，是一個值得思考的話題。本文擬在簡述轉喻的運作機製的基礎上，考察某些現有的翻譯現象，通過對比原文和譯文，反觀其翻譯過程，看二者是否形成了轉喻關系，從而探討這種翻譯過程中的思維方式。

一、概念轉喻運作機製簡述

用轉喻來說話和思維是人們日常經驗的重要組成部分。對於轉喻的運作機製，不同學者甚至同一學者

在不同時期有不同的論述。Lakoff & Johnson（1980）認為轉喻是一種概念現象 Lakoff（1987）進一步指出轉喻是一種概念組織方式，是「理想認知模型（ICM）的一種類型」，並構建了轉喻認知模型。Lakoff & Turner（1989）認為轉喻是一種概念映射。Langacker（1993）認為轉喻由相對突顯的原則提供理據，他將轉喻視為參照點現象，其基本觀點可概括為「高度凸顯的實體作為認知參照點喚起其它不那麼凸顯的實體，說寫者或聽讀者以概念域中其它成分提供的背景同另一個概念實體進行概念接觸」（張輝、盧衛中，2010：14）。認知參照點建立語境，為不凸顯的概念成分產生概念可及，從而達到意義建構之目的。

Croft（1993）以認知域矩陣來定義轉喻，認為轉喻涉及認知域矩陣（domain matrix）中的一個主要認知域和一個次要認知域，是二者的相互突顯，而不是相互映現，轉喻的功能就是使字面義中的次要認知域變成主要認知域。Radden & Kövecses（1999）以 ICM 為理論基礎，認為轉喻是「一個認知過程，在這一過程中，一個概念實體或載體為同一 ICM 內的另一個概念實體或目標提供心理可及。」Barcelora（2000）將轉喻定義為一個認知域向另一個認知域的概念映射，兩個領域都包含在同一領域內，認知域內的映射源域為靶域提供心理通道。後來他（2003）將轉喻進一步論述為同一個總的認知域內一個（次）認知域（即源域）向另一個（次）認知域（即靶域）的映射，從而在心理上激活第二個（次）認知域（張輝、盧衛中，2010：32-33）。

認知語言學強調語言和認知的體驗性。轉喻自然具有其體驗基礎。王寅（2007：250）指出，轉喻主要是基於對各種「事件域」的體驗和認知之上形成的：人們在對事件域中各行為要素和/或事件要素的認識基礎上，形成了知識塊，儲存於大腦之中，知識塊的各要素相互關聯，交錯牽涉，常常是牽一發而動其他部位或全身，在思維中不可避免地要產生轉喻現象。徐盛桓（2009）認為轉喻機理的核心是「本體是喻體」，轉喻就是本體與喻體的外延內涵之傳承。該觀點揭示了轉喻的邏輯基礎。

這些論述盡管各有切入點，但總體而言，在認知語言學視角下，對轉喻的特徵達成了一些基本共識：第一，概念化。轉喻是一種認知過程，在這一過程中人們通過與其他事物的鄰近關系來對某事物進行概念化；第二，鄰近性。轉喻基於鄰近性。認知語言學認為鄰近性不是語言結構內部或事物之間的相鄰關系，而是概念層次上的鄰近關系；第三，突顯性。轉喻遵循一定規律，判斷顯著度高低有一定的與我們的認知方式有關的規律可循；第四，偶然性。轉喻對語境有很強的依賴性，往往根據話語發生時的語境臨時生成，其來源義與目標義之間的關系是偶然的，沒有概念上的必然性（江曉紅，2011）。

基於以上研究，概念轉喻可以界定為：以涉身體驗為基礎的人類基本的認知方式，其運作機製是在同一個認知域（ICM）（或稱認知域矩陣）內，一個相對凸顯的（次）認知域（即源域），向另一個和它具有鄰近性或相關性且相對不凸顯的（次）認知域（即靶域）的映射，旨在為第二個（次）認知域提供心理可及性並凸顯（次）之，最終達到傳遞其所承載的概念和意義之目的。

二、作為翻譯策略的轉喻

既然概念轉喻觀揭示了人類認識世界的普遍規律，即通過相對凸顯的事物或概念去認識與之相關或相鄰的事物或概念，它就「使我們能夠通過相關聯的它事物來對該事物進行概念化。換言之，概念轉喻不僅為語言提供結構，也為人們的思想、態度和行為提供結構」（張輝，盧衛中 2010：148）。從概念層面而言，既然轉喻是在一定的認知域中，用 A 代替 B（A stands for B），在該轉喻得以實現的語境中，二者在意義是等值的。這和翻譯有可類比之處。

翻譯的本質特征在於尋求譯文與原文意義的對應。翻譯實質上是「語際的意義轉換」（劉宓慶，1999：6）。「翻譯首先涉及到的是意義」（郭建中，2000：277）。Newmark（1981：47）提出了語義翻譯法，指「在譯入語語義和句法結構允許的前提下，盡可能準確地再現原文的上下文意義。」總之，意義再現是翻譯的核心。

翻譯之所以為翻譯而非創作,是因為有原文及其意義的存在。因此,原文意義的再現是由翻譯本質決定的。「自古以來的翻譯主張就基本上是求信求達的」(王克非,1997:6)。者翻譯時首先對比源語與譯入語的各種語義潛勢,解碼原文信息,確定譯入語符號,使之所承載的意義最大限度地接近原文意義,實現意義的忠實再現,也即是實現翻譯的信達目標。就翻譯過程而言,其順序是:閱讀原文,把握意義,據意翻譯出譯文,可以表示為:原文→意義→譯文。而就某一具體譯文尤其是較理想的譯文而言,可以認為,原文和譯文表達了相同的意義,換言之,相同的意義用原文和譯文兩種語言來表達,可以表示為:原文←意義→譯文。但是兩種語言具體的表述方法常常有同有異。

請看英譯漢實例:

3a. Action and foresight will be needed as well as brightness and ambition.

不但需要很聰明和有抱負的人,而且需要有遠見卓識的實幹家。(連淑能,2010:178)

3b. A good conscience is a soft pillow.

良心過得去,睡覺才安穩。

3c. To kill two birds with one stone.

一箭雙雕。

3d. He spoke with firmness, but his face was very sad and his eyes at times were dim.

他講話時,態度堅決,但面帶愁容,時而眼神黯淡。(連淑能,2010:177)

3e. He waited for her arrival with a frenzied agitation.

他等著她來,急得像熱鍋上的螞蟻。(连淑能,2010:179)

Peirsman & Geeraerts(2006)提出了二十三種轉喻模式,下下面結合其中部分模式以及他們未列舉但廣為接受的模式,對以上實例加以分析。例(3a)中的「Action」(行動)被譯為「實幹家」,同例(2a)相反,用「行為者」表征「行為」。譯者在翻譯過程中同時兼有原文讀者和譯文讀者兩種身份。既要閱讀、體驗和理解源語文化中的事物或概念,又要站在譯文讀者角度思考譯文該如何表達才能讓譯文讀者正確理解原文意義。對於和原文一一對應的表達方式,如果譯文讀者不能理解或容易誤解,或者從語言角度而言不符合譯文表達習慣,譯者就不得不考慮轉換表達。方法之一就是選擇與這些事物或概念相鄰或相關且相對凸顯的事物或概念去表征它們。也即是通過相關聯的它事物或概念,對該事物或概念所表征的意義在譯文中進行再概念化。「a smoker」(抽煙者)和「抽煙」相关,「Action」(行動)和「實幹家」相關。據概念轉喻的運作機製,兩種情況都構成基於相關性的轉喻關系,都屬於「行動與參與者(ACTION & PARTICIPANT)」的轉喻模式。不可否認,這種再概念化的選擇也可能是一種不自覺的行為,而這更能體現這種認知方式在人們日常行為中的自發性。這種再概念化以表征原文所承載的概念和意義為目的,其基礎是鄰近性或相關性。該鄰近性或相關性為原文中的事物和概念提供心理可及,使借助於譯文來表征原文中的事物和概念成為可能。從上文論述的轉喻運作機製可以看出,這,就是轉喻。譯者是施喻者。原文中的事物或概念就是本體,譯文的表征就是喻體。這樣,轉喻就在兩種語言之間發生了。

同樣,例(3a)把「foresight」(遠見)、「brightness」(聰明)和「ambition」(抱負)相應地譯為「有遠見卓識(者)」、「聰明的人」和「有抱負的人」,則是用具有某品質或特征的人(譯文)來映射其品質或特征(原文)。兩種之間是具有相關性,前者為後者提供心理通道,屬於「特征與實體(CHARACTERISTIC & ENTITY)」的轉喻模式。例(3b)和(3c)是成語,其翻譯也是廣為接受的。例(3a)中「a soft pillow」(柔軟的枕頭)是「睡覺安穩」的重要條件,具有相關性。而例(3b)中「birds」(鳥)和「雕」之間構成「上位與下位(HYPONYM &

HYPERNYM)」的轉喻模式。例(3d)和例(3e)中抽象名词「firmness」(堅決)和「frenzied agitation」(狂亂的焦慮不安)在翻譯時被具體化為「態度堅決」和「熱鍋上的螞蟻」。它們對應地構成「抽象與具體」(ABSTRACT & CONCRETE)的轉喻模式。

再看漢譯英實例：

4a. 只嫡妻賈氏生得一女，乳名黛玉，年方五歲，夫妻愛之如掌上明珠。

By his wife, Nee Chia, he had a daughter Tai-yu just five years old. Both parents loved her dearly. (楊憲益、戴乃疊譯)

4b. 一面說，一面讓雨村同席坐了，另整上酒肴來。二人閑談漫飲，敘些別後之事。

The two men then proceeded, between leisurely sips of wine, to relate what each had been doing in the years that had elapsed since their last meeting. (Hawkes 譯)

4c. 晝趲行，夜趲行，敵偽關防穿插勤。

By daylight / By starlight/ We penetrate hostile posts here and there. (陳毅《長相思‧冀魯豫道中》，許淵沖譯)

4d. 聽得裏面大嚷起來，他便趕緊跑，連夜爬出城，逃回未莊來了，從此不敢在去做。

Ah Q heard a great commotion break out on the inside. He had immediately taken to his heels, climbed over the city wall, and fled back to Wei Village, no longer possessing the nerve to continue in his new calling. (魯迅《阿 Q 正傳》，威廉‧賴爾譯，見譚業升 2010)

如同上文(2b)把原文「鴉鵲無聲」译为「utterly quiet」(寂靜)，(4a)中「愛之如掌上明珠」被译为「loved her dearly」(深愛她)，在概念層面而言，原文是譯文的例示，它們對應地構成「抽象與具體」(ABSTRACT & CONCRETE)的轉喻模式。例(4b)把「閑談漫飲」譯為「between sips of wine」(小口飲)，用飲酒的方式來表征行為場景，屬於「次事件與復雜事件(SUBEVENT & COMPLEX EVENT)」的轉喻模式。例(4c)中「晝」和「夜」被譯為「daylight」(日光)和「starlight」(星光)，屬於「特特征與實體(CHARACTERISTIC & ENTITY)」的轉喻模式。例(4d)中「跑」被譯為「take to his heels」，利用身體部位「heels」(腳跟)來表征其功能「跑」，屬於「實體與功能」(ENTITY & FUNCTION)的轉喻模式。這些漢譯英實例同樣也都是通過一個次認知域(譯文)為與之具有鄰近性或相關性關系的另一個次認知域(原文)提供心理可及，從而到達表達後者的目的，翻譯過程中同樣是轉喻這種認知方式在發揮作用。

需要特別強調的是，本文討論的是翻譯過程中所可能運用的轉喻認知方式，而不是轉喻的翻譯。原文可能運用了轉喻也可能沒有運用。原文運用了轉喻也未必運用轉喻策略來翻譯。為此，本文所選上述實例原文，通常都不被認為是轉喻，以和轉喻的翻譯問題加以區別。這樣做是建立在避免將轉喻研究泛化(姚嵐，2005，2009)的基礎之上的。因為根據 Radden & Kövecses(1999)的語言本質轉喻觀，即語言在本質上是轉喻的，或者按照言語行為轉喻(Thornburg & Panther 1997；Panther & Thornburg 1999)的觀點，就會得出一個結論，即「所有的編碼行為皆屬於借代(即轉喻)性言語行為，都是以明示的概念的信號借代(轉喻)隱含的概念，字面顯示的概念和推論出來的概念構成以此代彼的借代(轉喻)關系」(蔣勇，蘇曉軍 2000)。這勢必導致「如果對轉喻研究采取一種方法，其結果是這種方法能夠描述如此眾多的不同現象，那麼這就不再是一種轉喻理論，因為該術語原來的涵義幾乎蕩然無存」(Haser，2005：41)。

那些通常被認為未運用轉喻表達的原文，在翻譯過程中可能運用轉喻思維方式來建構譯文。這種現象可以解釋為，對於要傳遞的意義，原文作者和譯者根據涉身體驗進行了相關但不同的識解，加之兩種文化和

語言習慣的影響,采用了兩種不同的表達方式,而兩種方式之間構成了概念轉喻關系。未運用轉喻表達的原文,可能含有隱喻表達,也可能不含。其中對於不含隱喻的句子,可能會在譯文中基於語言抽象圖式和具體例示之間的關系(譚業升,2010),而用某一具体例示来加以说明,從而形成转喻。而用某一具體例示來加以說明,從而形成轉喻。而該轉喻在譯文更大範圍內來看,則表現為隱喻。如例(3e),「a frenzied agitation」是一種抽象圖式,而「熱鍋上的螞蟻」則是具體例示。二者在翻譯過程中表現為一種轉喻的施喻行為。而觀察整個句子,可以看到其含有「他像熱鍋上的螞蟻」的隱喻表達。這也證明了「轉喻是隱喻的基礎」、「隱喻中埋藏著一些或更多的轉喻」(Grady,1998;Kövecses,2002)、「隱喻往往有轉喻誘發的」(Barcelona 2000;Dirven & Pörings 2002;Panthe & Radden 1999)等這樣的結論。

　　對於含有隱喻的原文,則涉及隱喻的翻譯問題。翻譯方法包括直譯法、意譯法、換喻法等。其中所謂意譯法,就是放棄原隱喻形象,而用非形象性語言把原文信息和內容表達出來。局部來看,就形成了具體例示向抽象圖式的轉換,如例(4a)「愛之如掌上明珠」是一種隱喻表達,含有具體意象例示,而譯之為「loved her dearly」,屬於一種抽象圖式表達。二者在翻譯過程中表現為轉喻行為。這同樣證明了「轉喻是隱喻的基礎」的結論。

　　從譯文角度來考察,譯文讀者可能並不被認為它們是使用了轉喻表述,如例(2a)-(2b),(3a)-(3e)、(4a),也可能仍然能看出是運用了轉喻表述,如例(4b)-(4d)。對於後者,能看出例(4b)中用「between sips of wine」來轉喻「during the dinner」;例(4c)中用「daylight」和「starlight」來轉喻「day」和「night」;例(4d)用「take to his heels」來轉喻「run」。但把翻譯結果和原文對照來反觀翻譯過程,可以看到譯者在翻譯時事實性地采取了施喻行為。而受喻者,即譯文讀者,則通常只是看到了源域,並據此能動識解,理解原文作者要表達的意義,從而達到翻譯之目的。

三、從翻譯看概念轉喻

　　認知來源於現實實踐,語言是體驗和認知的結果。就翻譯而言,體驗和認知先於並伴隨著翻譯活動,譯者對原文意義的理解是以體驗和認知為基礎的,因此譯文同樣是體驗和認知的結果(王寅,2005a)。王寅(2005b)提出了翻譯認知觀,認為「翻譯是一種認知活動,是以現實體驗為背景的認知主體所參與的多重互動為認知基礎的,譯者在透徹理解源語言(含古代語言)語篇所表達出的各種意義的基礎上,盡量將其在目標語中映射轉述出來,在譯文中應著力勾畫出作者所欲描寫的現實世界和認知世界。」可見,體驗性認知是不同語言間具有互譯性的認知基礎,也是轉喻思維方式在翻譯過程中自覺或不自覺發揮作用的認知基礎。

　　轉喻是概念層面的問題,因此稱為概念轉喻。概念是思維的基本要素。對於概念和意義的關系,不同學者有不同觀點。Jackendoff(1985)和 Cook(1994:91)認為概念和意義可互相交換使用。王寅(2007:92)指出:「認為概念和意義可互相交換使用「後者比前者更為寬泛,所含範圍更為寬廣」之外可以通用(拋棄傳統上對概念所作的客觀主義的鏡像觀、靜態觀),應為範疇的形成過程實際上就是概念的形成過程,也是意義的形成過程,它們幾乎是同時的。其實,這也與 Langacker 將意義等同於概念化(強調其主觀性、動態性)的觀點是一致的。」人們是用概念進行思想的,不同民族用語言表達概念的方式會存在差異。相同概念可以用不同語言形式來表達。有學者指出「意義是任何自然語言均可由各自系統中的語言符號導引出來的共有層面,但不同語言導引相同或相似的意義時不僅符號本身各異,而且所需的符號量也存在差異」(汪立榮,2006)。換言之,相同或相似的意義在一種語言中可能需要借助於某概念來表達,而在另一種語言中可能需要與該概念鄰近或相關的概念來表征,因此會表現出不同的語言形式。

　　在翻譯過程中,以意義信達為目標,就很可能依據認知規律采用轉喻這種思維方式,轉喻成為一種翻譯

策略。在翻譯過程中,譯者具有的轉喻認知思維方式也同樣會自覺或不自覺地發揮作用。這樣,轉喻的研究範圍就拓展到某些翻譯過程之中。基於此,本文提出「跨語言轉喻」一說,認為在翻譯過程中轉喻可以在不同語言間發生,施喻行為可以作為一種翻譯策略,來處理某些翻譯問題。這一點國內學者也有說論述,比如文旭、肖開容(2019:44-47)也有所論及,「在翻譯過程中,作為一種認知機製的轉喻也是一種翻譯策略」。但其落腳點是放在了轉喻的功用層面,而不是對這種類型的轉喻的認識。作為認知機製的轉喻所形成的翻譯結果和原文中所表達的內容之間事實上形成了一種轉喻關系,這種概念性的關系在語言表征上是跨了兩種語言的。譚業升(2020:3)在談論翻譯的認知過程研究時,認為其主要目標是「描述和解釋翻譯過程中的心理過程的發生和運作機製,擴展現有的認知科學模型,以描述可能有助於解釋譯者行為和選擇的過程」。其目標指向的是解釋譯者的翻譯過程。與他們不同的是,本研究是從已有的翻譯事實,反推翻譯過程,關註譯者認知活動的過程(侯敏,2012:18)。也就是說,這種翻譯實踐體現的是譯者的概念轉喻認知方式,落腳點是翻譯過程中體現的認知轉喻。正如有學者(邢嘉鋒,2018:144)指出的:「認知翻譯學研究的興起與發展得益於認知科學、認知語言學……等的發展,同時又反過來促進這些相關學科的發展」。本研究可以說是基於翻譯的認知語言學研究,一定程度上是對概念轉喻研究在語言學範圍內的拓展。

四、結語

概念轉喻作為一種認知方式和思維方式,本質上是超越語言層面的,具有跨語言性。但在認知語言學框架下,其表征離不開語言。本文針對已有研究討論轉喻局限在單一語言中,且轉喻目標常常無語言表征的情況,從翻譯結果反觀翻譯過程,指出在某些翻譯過程中存在著轉喻的施喻行為,轉喻的源域和靶域用兩種不同語言的表征:源域用譯語表征,而靶域用原語表征。這種體現為翻譯策略的轉喻,是轉喻這種人類認知能力在兩種語言關系中體現。這種跨語言表征的概念轉喻是概念轉喻的一種特殊表征形式。需要說明的是,本研究並非要證明轉喻的施喻行為在翻譯過程中的普遍性,而是指出這種行為在一定範圍內是存在的。註意到這種特殊轉喻的存在,有助於深化對概念轉喻的認識。

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Research on Curriculum Ideological and Political Construction from the Perspective of Tacit Knowledge

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Abstract: This paper studies the ideological and political elements in the second foreign language course from the perspective of tacit knowledge and summarizes the implicit ideological and political elements in foreign language teaching with the theory of tacit knowledge. In addition, it puts forward the way to implement ideological and political tacit knowledge education in second foreign language courses, which lays a foundation for building a relatively complete ideological and political tacit knowledge education system in second foreign language teaching, and explores a new way of teaching reform. Meanwhile, relevant researches are fed back to the front end of teachers' ability and quality training, which is helpful for second foreign language teachers to further improve their quality and moral sentiment from the perspective of tacit knowledge.

Keywords: second foreign language teaching; curriculum ideological and political construction; tacit knowledge

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隱性知識視角下的二外課程思政建設研究

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摘　要：文章以理工科院校的二外課程思政建設為研究物件，從隱性知識角度將二外課程思政中的隱性知識元素
進行梳理歸納，並提出了開展課程思政隱性知識教育的實施路徑，為搭建較為完整的二外課程思政隱性知識教育
體系奠定了基礎，為教學改革探索了新的路徑和方法。同時將相關研究回饋至教師能力素質培養的前端，有助於
教師從隱性知識的角度進一步提升良好的個人素質和優秀的道德情操。

關鍵詞：二外教學；課程思政；隱性知識

引言

按照新時代教育「立德樹人」的目標要求，結合理工科院校二外課程的教學組織實施，重點對課程思政中隱性知識的內容要素、功能作用進行分析梳理，通過教學內容的豐富更新和教學方式方法的改革不僅完成顯性知識的教授，更關注學生正確的政治觀、價值觀、堅持不懈的學習工作態度、敢於改革創新的精神風貌、富於開拓性的思維能力等隱性知識的傳遞，在「潤物細無聲」的知識學習中融入理想信念層面的精神指引，潛移默化地提升學生的思政素養和政治素質。

一、隱性知識教育的發展

隱性知識自 1958 年由英國學者邁克爾・波蘭尼提出後，逐漸引起了各方學者關注，成為心理學、管理學、教與學領域的熱點話題，並從組織行為學、教與學等多個不同視角對顯性知識、隱性知識進行了相關闡述。國內對隱性知識的研究始於 2000 年左右，主要集中在哲學和管理學領域，並呈逐年遞增趨勢；相對於這些領域，外語教育領域對隱性知識的研究起步較晚，前期的研究主要集中在對國外相關理論的分析和介紹，以及研究外語教育領域隱性知識的分類和轉化等。綜合目前國內高校研究情況看，在企業管理、工商行銷、外國語言文學等分支的教學中，圍繞隱性知識的教授和傳遞已開展了較為深入的研究和探索，並取得了一定的研究成果，但課程思政中隱性知識的作用發揮研究尚處於起步階段。國內理工科院校圍繞立德樹人的教育目標，開展的思政課程與課程思政研究目前也較為集中在傳統顯性知識的研究方面，部分研究內容雖已涉及隱性知識的範疇，但缺少系統的梳理與論證，即使是一些專門的思想政治和各類精神修養類課程，也未將隱性知識作為一個獨立的概念進行歸納和總結，公開的研究成果也尚未出現。

由於隱性知識本身固有的默會性、個體性、穩定性等特點，課程思政隱性知識教育具有更加潛移默化的德育功能，並且一旦形成效果很難消退遺忘。當前，高校思政工作主要是通過思政課程講授相關的顯性知識並輔以現實見學來培養學生的道德情操，但這種凸顯知識傳授式的思政教育，經常使得學生處於一種被動接受的狀態，不能讓學生積極主動的內化吸收，一定程度降低了思政教育效果。而課程思政隱性知識教

育具有更加潛移默化的德育功能,借助更多的課堂和課時、更加多樣的內容和形式,通過課程背景、課堂情境的設置和職業素養、專業精神的嵌入,規範道德行為、引導意識形態、培塑良好形象等,使得授課物件無意識的受到影響和感召,能夠很好的成為高校思政教育的有益補充。

二、二外課程思政的隱性知識內容與範疇

按照教育部開展課程思政的整體部署和隱性知識的內涵定義,課程思政隱性知識的內容主要包括思想教育、政治教育、道德教育等內容,理工科院校尤其是部分專業院校由於其特殊的職能使命,還應將個人職業品格、專業精神等納入思政隱性知識教育體系。具體到二外課程思政,主要包括了外語教學和專業院校兩個方面的隱性知識,融合了外語教學的特點和專業人才培養的規律要求。因此,出於相對統一分類的考慮,可以從技能和認知類的角度對理工科院校外語教學隱性知識進行分類。其中,技能類隱性知識主要包括那些非正式的、難以表達的語言習慣、語言技能、表達技巧、學習態度、學習方法和經驗等;認知類包括建立於洞察力、觀察力、審美情趣、集體凝聚力、團隊合作力基礎之上的政治能力、道德覺悟和個人職業價值觀、文化傳統觀、個人職業素質等。

三、二外課程思政中隱性知識教育的路徑

根據隱性知識的分類及其固有的特點,在二外課程思政的實踐中,要借助隱性知識共用和傳遞中的普遍規律和特點,針對性的對教學準備、教學實施進行改革,重點在於任課老師的言傳身教、授課內容的設計、課堂情境氛圍的搭建以及教學實踐環節的設置等四個方面。其中,教師的言傳身教是課程思政隱性知識教育的關鍵,課堂的內容是實施課程思政的重要基礎,課堂情境氛圍是開展有效的隱性知識教育的必要保證,各類實踐環節是固化教育效果的有力舉措。

(一)優秀教師的言傳身教

學高為師,身正為範。要堅持教育者先受教育,課程教師就要首先成為先進思想文化的傳播者、黨執政的堅定支持者,才能更好擔起學生健康成長指導者和引路人的責任。所以,首先是通過教師要樹立終身學習的理念,通過持續學習進步不斷提升自身隱性知識的儲備並作用於課堂教學,強化外語教學的科技、人文特色,以此激發課程的綜合育人效果;在此基礎上,要結合院校的本身特點,在課堂上將道德操守、光榮傳統和個人的優秀業務素質以及扎實教風凸顯,在做好「三尺講臺無雜音」最基本要求的前提下,從政治理論和意識形態方面加強對外語物件國的政經文化的準確辨析,提升課程對良好學風、道德情操、個人職業素質等能力養成的影響,確保「近朱者赤」、嚴防「近墨者黑」。

(二)多樣化授課內容的設計

二外課程相對於其他外語課程,知識涉及面更寬、教學設計也更為靈活,結合青年學生的特點,研究相關知識點的漫畫、電影、音樂、文化等展現方式,加快加強線上資源庫和學習平臺的建設,進一步豐富課程的形式內容,打消受教育者對一門全新外語學習的顧慮,激發其學習熱情和動力,以主動融入課程。同時,從隱性知識教育的角度,要結合學生主修專業,在傳授外語專業知識的過程中,將職業倫理操守和專業科學精神融如課堂,給予其正確的價值取向引導,以此提升學生專業性的道德修養及情商能力。另一方面,二外教學在傳授各類語言知識的過程中,必然會涉及外語物件國的歷史文化內容,這也是外語教學開展隱性知識

思政教育的有利契機,可以從縱向發展歷史與橫向各國現實的維度出發,通過認識物件國歷史發展與中國發展道路的大勢比較、中國特色社會主義制度與物件國政治經濟制度的比較以及歷史使命與時代責任的分析研究,使外語教學的思政教育元素得到既源於歷史又基於現實的有益拓展。

（三）開放式課堂的氛圍營造

課程思政建設是一項系統工程,從機制層面上需要教學組織和實施單位層層激發動力,形成共識,即教師、學生要充分認可,同時在課堂組織層面也需要教學實施者圍繞課程內容、課堂氛圍、教學保障等多方面同向發力,支撐課程思政隱性知識教育的實效。無論是潤物細無聲的教育模式還是隱性知識的內在傳遞規律,其關鍵都在於引導,落實在課堂教學,就是一種課堂氛圍的營造。要確保教育效果首先要引導學生樹立崇尚開放、創新的意識,建設一種師生之間樂於分享、樂於交換的課堂氛圍;其次,要探索建立各種探討、交流平臺,讓學生對語言顯性知識和思政隱性知識的學習消化具備主動性和積極性;最後,要提倡協同合作,尺有所長、寸有所短,鼓勵引導教師間、教師和學生間通過互相協作、互相配合的課堂,在教學過程中共用和傳遞包括科學態度、教學態度、學習態度等等隱性知識在內的思政元素。

（四）富含思政元素的實踐環節設置

隱性知識的最大特點是難於以規則的形式加以傳授和被接受,就如師傅帶徒弟的模式,更多的是手把手的教授和學生的親身實踐,通過跟隨、模仿、領悟、領會、感悟達到最終的理解。而外語教學課程思政的實施除了課堂的設計之外,在課程實踐中無疑是潛移默化提升學生綜合素質尤其是思政素質的又一重要平臺。因此,必須加大對蘊含思政教育特色的語言類課程實踐環節的研究與設計,以此將課堂的感受予以固化,將各類思政元素予以消化吸收和高度認可。考慮外語教學尤其是二外教學特點,主要通過完成對象國政經題材的大作業、參與現實課題的教學科研實踐、參加跨專業的交流活動等方式,統籌設置安排綜合素質俱樂部、模擬聯合國大會、跨專業學術沙龍、新年慶祝活動等實踐環節。

四、二外課程思政隱性知識教育的挑戰

由於隱性知識具備相對獨立而封閉的特點,一旦實現傳播或者傳承,具備很強的排他性和自主性,因此從隱性知識視角開展課程思政對學生一生的成長進步尤其是思想政治方面的培養塑造至關重要。同時,在二外課程思政中開展隱性知識教育,也面臨著合適時事內容的選擇、正確意識形態的引導、正面政治言論的鑒別等諸多挑戰,這些更是對二外教師能力素質提出了新要求。面對這種挑戰,我們要進一步提高對教師能力素質的新要求,一方面從教師個體來看,要繼續強化專業素養,同時還應加強政治理論的深入學習領悟;另一方面從單位整體看,要探索建立新的課程教師准入標準,尤其是二外教師,由於涉及較多的歷史、制度、文化對比辨析內容,所以更要明確同崗位要求相匹配的政治素質和政治能力。

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Construction of Ideological and Political Evaluation Index System of College English Curriculum Based on CIPP

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Abstract: The ideological and political index evaluation system of the College English curriculum is an important part of its teaching process, detecting and reflecting the effectiveness, summarizing and feeding back its existing problems, and affecting its normal operation. However, it is not perfect. Its construction should follow the principles of unity of qualitative and quantitative evaluation, integration of diagnostic evaluation, process evaluation, and summative evaluation, as well as correctly understanding the subject and object of evaluation. Based on the context, input, process, and product evaluation of the CIPP model, using the Delphi method, this paper constructs the ideological and political evaluation index system of the College English curriculum, and introduces the entropy weight method to determine the weight of each index, in order to fully and timely reflect the integration of College English knowledge and value guidance, improve the effectiveness of ideological and political education, and finally achieve the moral education goal of the curriculum.

Keywords: College English; ideological and political education; CIPP; evaluation index system

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基於 CIPP 的大學英語課程思政評價
指標體系構建研究

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摘　要：大學英語課程思政評價體系是其教學流程的重要一環，檢測和體現其課程思政的成效，總結和回饋其存在的問題，關係著整個課程思政教學的正常運行，但也是其課程思政建設的痛點。評價指標體系的構建要遵循質性和量性評價統一、診斷性評價、過程性評價和終結性評價統一的構建原則，要正確認識評價的主體和客體。基於 CIPP 評估模型的背景、輸入、過程和成果評價四個方面，採用 Delphi Method 構建了大學英語課程思政評價指標體系並引入熵權法確定了各指標的權重，旨在應用此體系來充分及時地評價大學英語課程中知識傳授與價值引領的融合度，提高其課程思政的成效，最終達成課程的育人目標。

關鍵詞：大學英語；課程思政；CIPP；評價指標體系

引言

教育部 2020 年《關於加快構建高校思想政治工作體系的意見》指出，目前課程思政的難點在於評價體系不健全，無法綜合評估課程思政的教學品質[②]。同年 6 月，教育部《高等學校課程思政建設指導綱要》指出，在學校各項工作的評估中要凸顯課程思政建設的評價，在教師評價中更要強調課程思政的實施和效果，要求各學科制定多元科學的課程思政評價標準。在大學英語課程思政方面，評價體系是整個教學流程的重要一環，檢測和體現其課程思政的成效，總結和回饋其存在的問題，關係著整個課程思政教學的正常運行，但也是其課程思政建設的痛點和堵點。所以，必須建立健全科學有效、專業全面、多元客觀的大學英語課程思政評價指標體系，充分及時反映課程中英語知識、技能和思想的結合程度，進而提高教學效果。

一、構建大學英語課程思政評價指標體系的重要性與緊迫性

（一）構建的重要性

大學英語是公共基礎課，受眾多，影響廣。大學英語課程思政與其它課程思政有一定區別，因為語言是文化的載體，學習英語就意味著接觸外國思想、文化甚至一些相悖的價值觀念和文化理念。因此，做好大學英語課程思政才能一方面引導廣大學生批判地學習西方文化，學會明辨是非，對外國的思想和文化要有選擇地接受，另一方面持續增強思想認識、民族認同和文化認同、不斷提升自我意識和文化自信，以英語為橋

樑,傳播中國優秀傳統文化,傳遞中國聲音,從而增強國家榮譽感和民族自豪感。如果大學英語教學不重視意識形態價值觀問題,就無法辯證客觀地審察和洞悉大學英語教學過程中的思政元素及其融入路徑,也就難以落實《普通高等學校本科專業類教學品質國家標準》中設定的德育目標。所以,只有將語言學習與育人深度融合,才能達成大學英語課程的育人目標。

(二) 構建的緊迫性

評價大學英語教學成效通常採用形成性評價、終結性評價和診斷性評價等,但無論是哪一種,都不適用於大學英語課程思政評價。這是因為,與其它課程思政一樣,大學英語課程思政具有內隱性、長期性、多方影響等特徵,其效果評估融合了品行與能力、育德與育才、素質與育人等全方位評價,但學生的情感、意志、精神與人格的發展等是很難量化的。這導致了大學英語課程思政評價體系要麼缺漏,成為被動忽略的環節,要麼設計太宏觀,針對性不強;要麼設計不夠完善,缺乏過程和成效的量化,最終導致評價的效度和信度都不高。缺乏有效完善的大學英語課程思政評價體系,就無法通過考核評價和制度保障來敦促大英教師踏實鑽研和不斷改進[③]。失去了推進課程思政教學的內外動力,其成效就無法充分落實,加上對學生思政效果的不確定,思政內容和路徑也無法及時調整,這些直接影響了立德樹人根本任務的實現。以上現實凸顯了通過實證研究構建科學合理的大學英語課程思政評價指標體系的重要性與緊迫性。

二、大學英語課程思政評價指標體系的構建原則

(一) 質性評價和量性評價的統一

大學英語課程思政的質性評價是指通過特定方法(檔案袋記錄、觀察訪談、研討評定、實物分析等)[⑥],收集並整理分析能反映學生情感態度價值觀變化的豐富資料,然後用情感性、描述性的文字和圖片對學生的思想引領、價值內化、情感表達、精神提升等方面的進步做出評價。這有利於突破因大學英語課程思政的內隱性、長期性、多方影響等特徵導致的評價瓶頸,可形成教師與學生之間的良性互動,從而全面直觀地描述出學生在情感態度價值觀方面的差異性和發展狀況,還可以根據不同情境調整評價策略,形成連續動態的評價鏈。

但是,僅僅靠質性評價是片面的,指標體系的構建還需要量化評價標準,即數量化大學英語課程思政建設過程中相關的內容和元素,通過對比分析,評價學校、教師、課程和學生的發展狀況[⑤]。例如,教師利用線上智慧學習平臺雨課堂等的問卷、主題討論、分組任務及投票等功能佈置學習任務,後臺將會記錄保存學生的完成情況和思想動態,為教師量化評估該學生思想認識的動態變化提供依據,進而記錄學生的人文情感等方面的變化。再如,利用線下面對面討論、演講或批改網等網路平臺佈置作文、反思日記等任務量化評估學生表現[①]。

(二) 診斷性評價、過程性評價和終結性評價的統一

大學英語課程思政涵蓋大英教師與學生、課程與教材、保障機制與品質評價等教學因素,因此對其建設成效的評價是一個多維度的系統,應把根據課堂不同階段的特徵恰當運用診斷性、過程性和終結性評價,形成全面融合、多維科學的評價體系,如圖 1。
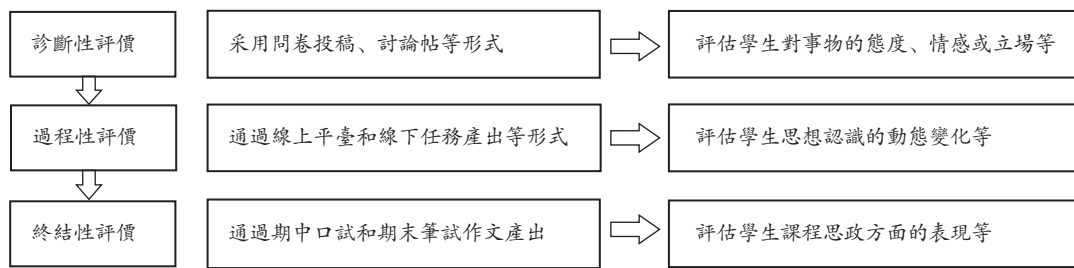
圖 1：大學英語課程思政多維度評價體系

三、基於 CIPP 的大學英語課程思政評價主體和客體

Stuff Lebeam，D. L. 於 1967 年提出 CIPP 評價模式，即 Context（背景）、Input（輸入）、Process（過程）和 Product（成果）的英文首字母，主要用於學校及教育項目的評價，聚焦評價的全程性，在國內外廣受認可。CIPP 評估模型下大學英語課程思政評價主體包括行政主體、執行主體、接受主體和用人主體，評價客體包括背景評價、輸入評價、過程評價和成果評價[④]，如表 1。

評價主體	行政主體	教育行政主管部門和學校課程思政主管部門（指導、督查和評估）
	執行主體	大英教師（對實施課程思政的自我評價、評價同行及評價學生）
	接受主體	學生（評價大英教師課程思政的實施情況、自我評價和評價同伴）
	用人主體	用人單位（評價學生的思想政治素質和綜合素養）
評價客體	背景評價	評價大學英語課程思政建設的關鍵性與可行性
	輸入評價	評價保障大學英語課程思政建設的基礎條件
	過程評價	評價大學英語課程思政的建設效果
	成果評價	評價大學英語課程思政的成效和不足

表 1：基於 CIPP 的大學英語課程思政評價主客體

四、基於 CIPP 的大學英語課程思政評價指標

（一）確定各項指標

結合大學英語課程思政的目標要求，採用 Delphi method 確定各項指標。Delphi method 即專家調查法，是一種回饋匿名函詢法，其大致流程是在對所要預測的問題征得專家的意見之後，進行整理、歸納、統計，再匿名回饋給各專家，再次徵求意見，再集中，再回饋，直至得到一致的意見[⑦]。基於此，選取了 5 位從事本校思政教學管理 3 年以上的專家和 10 位大學英語專任教師，基於 CIPP 評估模型，從背景評價、輸入評價、過程評價和成果評價進行指標篩選。經過 3 輪諮詢，專家和教師對各項指標意見趨於一致，把上述評價客體演化成具體的評價指標。如表 2，指標體系包含一級指標 4 個（N_{1-4}），二級指標 12 個（n_{1-12}）和三級指標 26 個（n_{1-1}- n_{12-3}）。

一級指標	二級指標	三級指標
Context 背景評價 N_1	需求分析 n_1	學生需求：對當前大英課程思政的教師、內容、方式等的需求是否得到滿足
		學校需求：對大英課程思政建設的政策、人才、經費等的需求是否得到滿足
		社會需求：對學生思想政治素質和綜合素養等的需求是否得到滿足
	思政基礎 n_2	課程設置：大學英語四門課程下課程思政的設置安排是否合理
		日常活動：學生是否有興趣和時間精力參與大英課程所佈置的日常思政任務
	學科基礎 n_3	學科特徵：學生能否適應與接受大英課程特徵下的課程思政的內容和方式
		學科環境：大英課程思政建設是否具備與本學科相一致的軟硬體配套
Input 輸入評價 N_2	師資隊伍 n_4	授課團隊：大英課程思政授課團隊協作授課的成效是否達標
		教師專業：大英教師進行課程思政的教學技能是否達標
	經費投入 n_5	學校專項專案經費：大英課程思政專項經費是否到位並逐年增加
		部門專項基金：大英課程思政專項基金的使用是否合理
	組織保障 n_6	組織機構：思政建設領導小組、教學研究中心、指導委員會是否發揮作用
		制度建設：中長期發展規劃和多部門、多學院的協同工作機制是否發揮作用
Process 過程評價 N_3	課程建設 n_7	教學目標：是否結合大英課程特點，制定科學合理的「育人」目標
		教學內容：教學內容是否中融入大英課程思政目標、切入點、元素和內容
	課程設計 n_8	教學方法：教學方法和策略是否深度結合思政內容，側重潤物無聲的效果
		課堂管理：是否運用高效科學的課堂管理方式來提高課程思政的實施效果
	監控督導 n_9	同行聽課：是否在同行聽課中凸顯課程思政的評價比重
		督導檢查：是否成立課程思政督導組來保障課程思政順利有效的實施
Product 成果評價 N_4	學生 n_{10}	學習過程：學生對課程思政教學是否認可，是否積極參與各項思政活動
		素養提升：通過師生評價、生生評價來判斷學生的素養水準是否提高
	教師 n_{11}	教學成果：推進大英課程思政前後學生的情感態度價值觀是否產生積極變化
		教學經驗：是否參與大英課程思政相關培訓、比賽和分享思政改革經驗
	學校 n_{12}	社會回饋：學生是否在實踐中踐行社會主義核心價值觀、職業精神和規範
		所獲成果：學校是否獲得大英課程思政方面的高級別項目和課題的立項
		成果推廣：學校是否積極開展大英課程思政優秀建設成果推廣

表 2：基於 CIPP 的大學英語課程思政評價指標

（二）確定各項指標的權重

1. 計算指標權重。利用熵權法的賦權步驟如下：首先，構建評價指標初始矩陣並歸一化處理。設有 X 個專家對 Y 個評價指標進行評價，則初始矩陣為：$A = [A_{ij}] X * Y$。式中 A 為第 i 個專家對第 j 個指標的評價值。再對初始矩陣 A 進行歸一化處理得到標準矩陣 $B = [B_{ij}] X * Y$。然後，根據資訊熵的公式計算第 i 個指標的熵值 H_i 和熵權 q_i。

2. 建立評價標準。根據構建的評價指標體系採用 Likert Scale(李克特量表)來設計量化評價表,將大學英語課程思政教學品質評價指標分為「優秀」「良好」「合格」「基本合格」和「不合格」等 5 個標準等級,評價等級對應的區間值為:$[4,5]$,$[3,4]$,$[2,3]$,$[1,2]$,$[0,1]$,邀請 5 位專家和 10 位大學英語專任教師進行評價打分,每項指標的分值區間為 $[0,5]$。

3. 確定指標權重。根據專家評價表資料和熵權法公式計算大學英語課程思政品質量化評價各指標、各維度的權重為:需求分析 $n_1 = 0.0423$,思政基礎 $n_2 = 0.0561$,學科基礎 $n_3 = 0.0382$,師資隊伍 $n_4 = 0.0811$,經費投入 $n_5 = 0.0391$,組織保障 $n_6 = 0.0142$,課程建設 $n_7 = 0.1818$,課程設計 $n_8 = 0.0927$,監控督導 $n_9 = 0.0719$,學生 $n_{10} = 0.1725$,教師 $n_{11} = 0.1073$,學校 $n_{12} = 0.1028$。

結合大學英語課程思政教學品質評價的目標要求,利用 Delphi method 從 CIPP 評價模型下的背景評價、輸入評價、過程評價和成果評價方面確定各項指標內容,基於熵權法較好地解決指標權重分配和定性指標量化的問題。以上三級指標體系基本包含了目前大學英語課程思政工作的全部方面,確定權重後可進行實證與改進,將為大學英語課程思政建設和改革研究、促進教師隊伍建設、提升建設成效提供參考和借鑒,將更好地推進大學英語課程思政實踐。

結語

大學英語是受眾廣、影響大的公共基礎課,其課程思政評價指標體系的建設至關重要。本文從 CIPP 評估模型入手,探索構建了涵蓋背景、輸入、過程和成果評價的大學英語思政思政評價指標體系。但是,大學英語課程思政評價具有系統性和嚴謹性,光有指標內容和權重還不行,還需要進行實踐檢驗,這是今後研究的方向。根據實踐檢驗情況,及時掌握評價指標體系和大英課程思政建設存在的問題,邊實踐邊總結邊持續改進,及時把評價結果回饋給學校相關部門及與思政課程、課程思政和日常思政相關的主體,為學校、教師、班主任、輔導員等主體推進課程思政提供切實可行的建議,從而構建完善的大學英語課程思政評價指標體系,更好地為大學英語課程思政服務。

注釋

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[Translation Studies]

On Translation of Modal Verbs in Political Documents from Systemic Functional Linguistics

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Abstract: This paper discusses the translation of modal verbs in political papers and the translation strategies used by translators from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics, exemplified by the report of the 19th National Congress. The result shows that the translators' use of equivalent translation and adaptation for different situations when translating high-value modal verbs can not only reflect the Chinese government's firmness on matters of principle but also enable the international community to better accept the Chinese government's positions and propositions. Besides, the collocation "we will," which appears frequently in the strategy of amplification, reflects the authority of the information in the 19th National Congress Report and brings Western readers closer, calling on them to answer China's call on international issues.

Keywords: systemic functional linguistics; modal verbs; translation; the report of the 19th National Congress of the CPC

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1   Introduction

A political essay is a kind of argumentative essay that addresses and comments on current major events and social issues from a political perspective (Liu Zhongde, 1998). As important carriers of national policy and political development, political essays can not only clearly explain the national policies formulated by the Chinese government but also make authoritative information about China more accessible to people from other countries. The translation of political documents, therefore, exerts a great impact on the efficiency of political propaganda.

To a large extent, it is also closely related to China's image in the international community. There is no denying that the translation of political essays is one of the most important channels for China's foreign propaganda and is closely related to the shaping of the image of great power. Most of the previous studies of political documents have focused on culture-loaded words (Cheng Bing & Bao Chenglian, 2018), metaphors (Liang Na & Chen Daliang, 2020), and ecological translation (Fang Xiaoqin, 2019), but few scholars have conducted in-depth studies on modal verbs in political documents. Systemic functional linguistics considers modality as an important means of realizing interpersonal functions, which can change interpersonal relations and construct new linguistic facts. Based on the above status quo, this study investigated how translators achieve interpersonal equivalence in the translation process from the quantitative value of modal verbs in the 19th National Congress Report (report for short) within the framework of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics.

2   Systemic Functional Linguistics and Modality

The definition of modality was first proposed by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle to discuss the three concepts of necessity, possibility, and impossibility (Wang Weixian et al., 1989). There are many scholars from different fields who have studied modality from different perspectives, both at home and abroad. Three fields are most important abroad: traditional linguistics, represented by Jesperson; semantics, represented by Lyons and Palmer, and systemic functional linguistics, represented by Halliday. The earliest studies of mood in China were found in *Ma Shi Wen Tong*, and later, through the efforts of many scholars, the framework of the Chinese mood system was gradually refined.

Halliday (2004) suggested that language performs a variety of functions, of which three meta-functions — textual function, ideational function, and interpersonal function — play a crucial role. The interpersonal meaning is achieved by the modal system. Whereas in traditional grammar, modality is represented by modal verbs, in systematic functional grammar, modality is expressed in a variety of ways. In addition to modal verbs, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and corresponding structures can all express modalities. He argued that the interpersonal function plays an important role in determining the potential meaning contained in a language. The interpersonal function means that a speaker can use language as a tool to express his attitudes, evaluations, purposes, and the relationship that he establishes between his audience and him. Listeners can also understand the feelings and emotions of the speaker, and their thoughts and attitudes can be influenced by the speaker. Since its introduction into China, systemic functional linguistics has played an important role in the study of translation, and more and more scholars have begun to apply the theory to explain the phenomena and problems in translation. For example, Hu Zhuanglin and other scholars (1989) have used the above three meta-functions of languages to analyze and explore in-depth the concept of equivalence, which is crucial in translation, reflecting the possibilities and broad prospects of combining systemic functional linguistics with other disciplines. The translation is a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural act of communication, where the original text and the translated text are addressed to a different audience, and the translator is bound to make modifications to achieve interpersonal functional equivalence.

3   Classification of Modal Verbs

3.1   *The classification of English modal verbs*

People have positive or negative attitudes towards things in their daily lives, and Halliday argued that if the two attitudes can be considered as two polarities, then the middle range between them can be regarded asa modality. He classified moods into high, medium, and low values on four dimensions: probability, frequency, obligation, and willingness. Low-valued modal verbs express possibility, medium-valued modal verbs convey probability, and high-valued modal verbs express necessity, with the three values of modality decreasing in the order of modal intensity. Tables 1 and 2 show his classification of the three levels of values for modality and modal verbs, respectively.

	probability	frequency	obligation	willingness
High	certain	always	required	determined
Medium	probable	usually	supposed	keen
Low	possible	sometimes	allowed	willing

Table 1: Three values of modality[①](Halliday, 2004)

	low	medium	high
Positive	can, may, could, might, (dare)	will, would, should, is/was to, shall	must, ought to, need, has/had to
Negative	needn't doesn't/didn't need to, have to	won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, (isn't/wasn't to)	mustn't, oughtn't to, can't, couldn't, (mayn't, mightn't, hasn't/hadn't to)

Table 2: Three values of modal verbs(Halliday, 2004)

Combining the above tables with the modal verbs appearing in the English version of the Report, different kinds of modal verbs are listed as follows. High value modal verbs: must, need; medium value modal verbs: will, would, should, is to, won't; low value modal verbs: can, may, have to, dare. The frequencies of them are shown in Table 3. In English grammar, "will" can be employed as both a modal auxiliary verb to express the modality and a tense auxiliary verb to form the simple future tense, which is always inevitably intertwined with the modal sense. After analyzing the modal meaning of "will" from traditional grammar, cognitive grammar, functional grammar, and syntax and semantics, Zhang Chuchu (2009) concluded that "will" cannot simply denote tense; it will always inevitably intermingle with the modal sense. Therefore, no distinction was made between the modal and future senses of "will".

Value	Modal verbs	Frequency	Total
low	can	21	24
	may	1	
	have to	1	
	dare	1	
medium	will	272	372
	would	1	
	should	89	
	is to	9	
	won't	1	
high	must	158	167
	need	9	

Table 3: Statistics on English modal verbs in the report

3. 2　The classification of Chinese modal verbs

Unlike the fixed range of modal verbs in English, thereexists no uniform range of modal verbs in Chinese so far. In modern Chinese, the semantic and syntactic features of modal verbs are closely linked to those of notional verbs, so it is impossible to delimit the range based on semantic and syntactic features alone as that in English. Based on this situation, this paper first employed the corpus search software WordSmith 8. 0 to generate a vocabulary of the original Chinese text, from which all modal verbs were extracted and ranked according to their frequencies of occurrences. As the top 11 modal words were used significantly more frequently than the other modal words, they were selected as research objects. Xu Jingning（2007）has studied the classification of Chinese modal verbs, and Li（2007）has made a more detailed classification and assignment of the Chinese modal system based on Halliday's research. The top 11 high-frequency modal verbs are classified based on Halliday's（Table 1）classification, combined with the research results of the former two scholars（Table 4）. Next, this paper used ParaConc to retrieve the English translations of the above-mentioned Chinese texts, categorized the translation strategies into equivalent translation, adaptation, and amplification according to the translators' specific treatment of the original modal words, and analyzed the above translation strategies from the perspective of interpersonal function.

Value	Modal verbs	Frequency	Total
Low	能夠(Nenggou)	6	32
	會（Hui）	10	
	能（Neng）	16	

Table 4（continued）

Value	Modal verbs	Frequency	Total
Medium	敢於 (Ganyu)	5	12
	善於 (Shanyu)	7	
High	一定 (Yiding)	9	204
	必須 (Bixu)	60	
	堅決 (Jianjue)	33	
	要 (Yao)	90	
	不能 (Buneng)	7	
	不會 (Buhui)	5	

Table 4: Statistics on Chinese modal verbs in the report

4   Translation Analysis

The above statistics show that the modal verbs in the Chinese text are predominantly of high value, while the English counterpart is of medium value. English and Chinese are nurtured by different cultural soils, so the interpersonal meaning conveyed by the English-Chinese modal system is also subject to socio-cultural constraints, which means that translators cannot use literal translation most of the time.

Following a comparative analysis of the English and Chinese versions, it was found that the translator mainly adopted three translation strategies: equivalent translation, adaptation, and amplification. In order to avoid confusion with traditional translation strategies, the definitions of the three strategies are given below. Equivalent translation in this study refers to the translation of modal values that are equivalent to or basically similar to the original text in terms of modal value; adaptation refers to the transformation of modal value, and amplification refers to the translation of modal verbs that are not expressed in the original text but are added after translation. This article will focus on how to achieve modal equivalence in the translation of modal verbs and accurately convey the author's viewpoints in the original text.

4. 1   Amplification

English and Chinese belong to different language families, with the former belonging to the Indo-European family and the latter to the Sino-Tibetan family. The former is a hypotactic language, which emphasizes the logical relationship between sentence components, while the latter is a parataxis language, with no obvious conjunctions between sentences with flexible sentence structures and various forms, which is fully reflected in a political essay like the report.

（1）堅持人人盡責、人人享有。

We will see that everyone performs their duties and shares in the benefits.

From the above examples, it is obvious that the original text is subject-free with no obvious conjunctions between the sentences and no obvious modal words. To adapt to the differences in language structures, the

translator divided a long sentence in the original text into two short sentences and added a subject. There are many options for the subject, which can be "China", "the Chinese government" or "we," and the first two were found much less frequently used as subjects than the latter. When retrieving the original text, the word "我們" appeared 65 times, while its English equivalent "we" appears 509 times, among which "we will" appears 272 times, fully demonstrating the high frequency of that kind of sentence. A detailed analysis of the difference is provided in this study.

In modern Chinese, in addition to the word "我們", "咱們" can also express the first person plural, which is mostly found in northern Chinese dialects. The Modern Chinese Dictionary explains the difference between them as "including the other side of the conversation with '咱們' and excluding the other side of the conversation with '我們'". The dictionary interprets "我們" as "a number of people that include ourselves", which, according to the first note, includes the speaker and other people in most cases. Due to the conventional usage of Chinese, the number of "我們" in the original text of the report is still small compared with the number of "we". In terms of interpersonal meaning, the report, as an important political document of historical significance, is aimed at the general public. Because the word "我們" tends to exclude the audience, it appears less frequently in the Chinese text to avoid alienating the native audience at large. At the same time, the large number of non-life subject sentences has left enough space for the use of imperative sentences, which can better appeal to the general public.

The "we" in the English text conveyed a message that reflects the collective wisdom and represents the authority of the report, while it also avoids distancing itself from foreign readers compared to other subjects, delivering a sense of intimacy and unity. For example, many foreign governments and expatriates are concerned about the latest development in China and want to know how the Chinese government presents and evaluates its five-year plan and the arrangements for the next five-year plan, so adding "we" can not only reflect the authority of the information but also bring the readers closer.

According to Shi Yuzhi (2007), the modal meaning of modal verbs can be divided into three magnitudes: necessity, possibility, and virtuality. "Will" can express subjective beliefs and logical and social obligations of necessity when expressing modal meaning. Translators continued to consider adding modal verbs to convey interpersonal meaning after the addition of the subject. "Will," as a medium-valued modal verb, does not convey as strong an attitude as a high-valued modal verb, nor does it call into question the reliability of the message as a low-valued modal verb. It can express the speaker's truthfulness about the events taking place, can reflect the confidence of the country's leaders in all their work and the determination of the Party and the country to achieve the people's growing need for a better life, playing a certain politically motivating role in conveying subjective beliefs. In Example 1, the original text is a juxtaposition of unattributed statements, and the translator has taken the social implications of the modal verbs used into account, constructing a medium modal value through the collocation of "we will" to achieve interpersonal equivalence between the original text and the translated text. On the one hand, it reflected the representativeness and authority of the report. On the other hand, it also brought the text closer to Western readers and called on them to heed China's call on international issues.

4.2 Equivalent translation

The high-value modal verbs occur 203 times in the original text, of which 93 were transformed into their

English equivalent high-value modal verbs, 59 into low- and medium-value modal verbs, while the remaining 52 were transformed into other forms that are not modal verbs but are part of the modal system, for example, adjectival verbs and adverbial forms, with the main words in this part being "必須" and "堅決". In this study, we will only discuss the part where the quantitative transformation has taken place.

From the statistics above, it can be seen that 2/3 of the high-value modal verbs were transformed into their corresponding values in the English translation, and the remaining 1/3 were transformed into medium and low values. When searching the data, it was found that equivalent translation was mostly found in those emphasizing the duties of Party members, Party affairs, and the governance philosophy of the CPC. A more interesting phenomenon lies in the different translation strategies adopted by the translators for modal verbs towards international affairs, mainly in terms of the positions held by China on domestic hotspot issues and its diplomatic philosophy. For example, when talking about the Hong Kong-Taiwan issue, the central government stated that:

（2）必須把維護中央對香港、澳門特別行政區全面管治權和保障特別行政區高度自治權有機結合起來。

We must ensure both the central government's overall jurisdiction over the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and a high degree of autonomy in the two regions.

The Hong Kong-Taiwan issue has always been a hotspot issue to the foreign media, and the facts were often distorted in the report on related topics. For example, in the past two years, we have often seen foreign media reports implying Taiwan as a country or treating the terms "Taiwan" and "China" as juxtaposition rather than as a form of subordination. As we all know, territorial integrity is a matter of principle and bottom line, and the use of the high-value modal verb "必須" in the original text expressed the translators' full consideration of this situation, therefore the translation employed equivalent translation and high-value modal verbs to express China's firm position on the Hong Kong-Taiwan issue, safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Cheng Zhenqiu（2003）, a senior foreign affairs translator in China, has pointed out that translators doing political translations must have political awareness, as such texts often involve important national guidelines and policies, and the slightest carelessness could lead to a major mistake.

4.3 Adaptation

When writing about the initiative to build a human community with a shared future, the report put forward "five principles" for international relations, all of which use the high-value modal verb "要".

（3）要同舟共濟,促進貿易和投資自由化便利化,推動經濟全球化朝著更加開放、包容、普惠、平衡、共贏的方向發展。

We should stick together through thick and thin, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, and balanced so that its benefits are shared by all.

The original text used the high-value modal verb "要", but the translator has adapted it into the medium-value modal verb "should" rather than the equivalent one "must". Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary interprets "should" as "to show what is right, appropriate, etc.," and "must" as "to say that something is necessary or very important." Different countries have different ideologies due to many factors such as religion, culture, and geographical location. For example, China advocates trade and investment liberalization, but some countries, represented by the United States, have frequently launched trade wars against China on the grounds of trade deficits, which have cracked down on many Chinese high-end technology companies. The "five principles"

was just China's initiatives, indicating the right approach to international affairs in China's belief, but it is not necessary for all countries. The high-value modal verbs convey a strong sense of inevitability, as a result, foreign readers will read them with a threatening, arbitrary and even coercive image of the Chinese government in their mind. The translators took full account of the international situation and the ideological differences between countries, and turned high values into medium values, making the Chinese government's positions and initiatives more acceptable and thus better play the role of an appeal. The same applied to topics like "Belt and Road Initiative" and socialism with Chinese characteristics, which were often viewed differently by foreign media due to ideological and historical-cultural differences. Most of the developed Western countries follow a capitalist path, and the fact that China and the West follow different paths in terms of fundamental political systems also determines the ideological gap between them.

(4) 要以「一帶一路」建設為重點。

We <u>should</u> pursue the Belt and Road Initiative as a priority.

First proposed in 2013, the "Belt and Road Initiative" refered to the "Silk Road Economic Belt" and the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road", and was officially translated as "One Belt, One Road" at first. It was later translated as "Belt and Road Initiative" to indicate that it was not a unilateral project promoted by China and to distinguish it from the Marshall Plan, indicating that it was only a Chinese initiative to build a regional cooperation platform for a human community with a shared future, which requires all countries to work together. In Western societies, where human rights and freedom of worship are the hallmarks, translating such initiatives in equivalent translation will inevitably leave the reader with the impression of being preachy, contrary to their deeply rooted cultural background. The readers, as one of the subjects of the translation activity, do not passively understand and accept the translation, but more actively and dynamically understand the translation by mobilizing his or her previous knowledge and cognitive potential, and absorb richer cultural knowledge through the translated text (Li Xiaochuan, 2012). In the process of translating modal verbs, the translators should be familiar with the language habits and acceptance of the readers, so that the translation will conform to the habits of the target language, and make appropriate adjustments to avoid overly rigid translations. In dealing with these issues, the translators used the method of adaptation, which not only clearly stated the position of the Chinese government, but also avoided the negative effect of causing disputes.

4　Conclusion

In an increasingly internationalized world, how to tell Chinesestories, build Chinese images, and spread Chinese voices are crucial to China's international status. Taking the report of the 19th National Congress and its English translation as the study text, this paper explored how translators achieve interpersonal equivalence in the translation process of modal verbs. Results showed that translators mainly adopted three strategies of equivalent translation, adaptation, and amplification. In general, the translators have been faithful to the original text in the translation of the report, taking into account the cultural differences between readers in different countries and realizing the reconstruction of interpersonal function. The study further analyzed the translation of modal verbs on the basis of previous comparative studies of the English and Chinese modalities, but modality is a large and complex system, and due to limited space, it is inevitable that the analysis will be incomplete in the process, so

it is worth expectation to study the political documents from other dimensions of the modal system.

Notes

① The examples in this paper are all from *China Daily*. Here is the link: http://language.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201711/06/ WS5d034782a3103dbf1432840b_5.html.

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A Contrastive Study on Translation Strategies of Traditional Chinese Festivals in Two English Versions of *Shuihu Zhuan* from Intercultural Communicative Perspective

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Abstract: Based on the theory of translation in intercultural communication, this paper compares and evaluates the translation strategies adopted by Pearl S. Buck and Sidney Shapiro concerning Chinese traditional festivals in their English versions of *Shuihu Zhuan*. Resting on textual analysis and revised translation, this paper concludes that translators can effectively present the cultural background of the source text by precise wording pertain to the context of culture, and flexible combination of literal, free, or addition translation, together with domestication, and annotation. The aim of this paper is to provide insights into the foreign translation of Chinese traditional festivals and intercultural communication, in order to promote Chinese culture to the world, and to strengthen the dialogue between the nation and the world on an equal footing.

Keywords: intercultural communication; Chinese traditional festivals; English translation of Chinese classics; translation strategies

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跨文化交際視角下賽、沙譯本《水滸傳》
傳統節日英譯對比研究

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摘　要：本文基於跨文化交際翻譯理論，比較並評析賽珍珠和沙博理在《水滸傳》英譯本中針對傳統節日所採取的翻譯策略。根據文本分析和試譯，筆者得出：譯者可通過結合文化語境精確用詞，按需組合直譯、意譯、增譯、歸化和注釋等方法，有效反映源語文本的文化背景。本文旨在為中國傳統節日外譯和跨文化交際提供啟示，以推動中華文化走向世界，加強民族與世界的平等對話。

關鍵詞：跨文化交際；傳統節日；典籍英譯；翻譯策略

引言

　　為實現翻譯從文字轉述發展為文化闡釋，實現文化資訊在國際語境下的傳達，跨文化交際翻譯要求譯者注重源語文本和目的語文本在文化內涵、語篇情景和話語習慣等層面的超語言因素，以強調兩種文本的互文性（intertextuality）。目前，跨文化視角下中國古典文學中傳統節日的英譯研究尚未得到廣泛關注[1]，但在古典名著中，傳統節日不僅體現中華文化，且常用作構建故事情節、構造人物形象，是跨文化交際翻譯中不容忽視的超語言因素。以章回體長篇小說《水滸傳》為例，原作蘊含豐富的節日描寫和文化象徵，共計十三章涉及節日文化，相關內容多作為情節線索，推動故事發展，展現人物性格[2]。

　　本文以《水滸傳》及其全譯本——賽珍珠所譯《四海之內皆兄弟》(*All Men Are Brothers*，以下簡稱「賽譯」或「賽譯本」)與沙博理所譯《水泊好漢》(*Outlaws of the Marsh*[3]，以下簡稱「沙譯」或「沙譯本」)為研究物件[4]，以跨文化交際翻譯理論為理論依據，分析原作中節日描寫的特徵和研究價值，對比分析譯者在面對不同文化因素以及還原語篇情景、反映話語習慣時所採用的翻譯策略，並試譯原文選段，旨在總結出跨文化交際翻譯對中國傳統節日外譯工作的啟示，以推動中華文化走向世界，在中西文化的交流、碰撞和融會中，加強民族與世界的平等對話。

一、跨文化交際翻譯與超語言因素

　　翻譯，正在文化全球化的推進下，從轉換符號的文本活動，演變為交流文化的社會行為。跨文化交際翻譯，要求譯者在充分把握音韻組合、字、詞、句等語言因素的基礎上，理解源語文本的文化內涵、語篇情景和話語習慣等超語言因素，並在目的語中加以準確反映。

　　跨文化交流的可能和基礎，在於文化的普遍性和共性；其需求和難點，則源于文化的相對性和個性。為解決文化因素對翻譯工作造成的阻礙，奈達（1945）曾提出，譯語要在以下五方面中尋求文化等值

（equivalence），即生態文化（ecology）、物質文化（material culture）、社會文化（social culture）、宗教文化（religious culture）和語言文化（linguistic culture）（Nida，E.，1945：196）。生態文化是由不同地域的生態條件（地形氣候、動植物等），塑造而成的文化特徵，如中國的農曆紀年法、「鴛鴦」在漢語中象徵美滿姻緣。物質文化源於人們的日常生活，如元宵節的花燈和鼇山，以及中國古代以穀物為主要原料的酒。社會文化主要體現在人們的交際活動中，如元宵燈慶、中秋宴請。宗教文化由宗教傳說和宗教信仰組成，如中國的土地神、土地廟。語言文化是指文字的語音、詞彙和句法等所具有的特點，如擬聲詞，以及漢語中數詞可作虛指的用法。

除文化內涵外，超語言因素還包括語篇情景和話語習慣。前者表明語篇產生於一定的文化語境（即社會文化背景），受制於特定的情景語境（即語篇產生的直接環境），主要包含三個部分：話語範圍、話語基調和話語方式。話語範圍是指交談的話題和場地；話語基調是指交際雙方的社會角色、關係（即個人基調）以及語言活動的目的（即功能基調）；話語方式則是指語言活動採用的媒介或管道（韋蘭芝，2019：94）。至於話語習慣，在諸如《水滸傳》等古典小說中，常體現為作者對故事人物所處歷史環境和社會文化的把握和理解（徐振輝，1994：233）。下文將通過分析《水滸傳》中節日描寫的特徵及其研究價值，篩選出主要節日以作譯文對比和評析。

二、《水滸傳》中傳統節日的特徵及研究價值

《水滸傳》取材於北宋末年的宋江起義。北宋年間（960—1127），人們的生活方式在社會生產力發展和階級結構重組中顯著變化，反映當時民情風俗的各種節日也相應出現變革。朱瑞熙先生曾在《宋代的節日》一文中，將當時的節日分為四類，即帝、後的「聖節」、官定的重要節日、節氣性和季節性節日以及宗教迷信性節日（朱瑞熙，1987：74）。除「聖節」外，其餘三種節日在《水滸傳》中均有直接描寫。以下將結合相關情節作進一步討論。

官定的節日，不僅指統治者出於政治目的一時制定的節日，也包含部分重大的傳統節日，如元宵節。作為《水滸傳》節日描寫的重頭戲，元宵節在全書中共計出現五次[5]。「宋江夜看小鼇山」一回中，作者不吝筆墨，從清風寨鎮上居民備燈，到宋江和花榮家親鎮上看燈，生動展現出元宵佳節普天同慶的場面。此外，在該回中，元宵節慶的全民性導致宋江偶遇劉知寨夫婦，繼而遭到追拿。可見，《水滸傳》中的節日描寫不僅反映風俗民情，且推動情節發展。

節氣性節日反映了宋代民間使用二十四節氣指導農耕生產的歷史背景，而部分重要的季節性節日，如端午、中秋和重陽等，因備受統治階級重視，其地位可與官定節日相稱，或被視為官定節日。以中秋為例，其節慶活動由唐朝文人墨客的賞月吟詩，演變為宋朝平民百姓的宴請娛樂。《水滸傳》以政和三年（1113）中秋節開篇，以史進當家宴客為機，推展情節。與之相似，武松大鬧飛雲浦，前因是張都監為替蔣門神報仇，以慶賞中秋為由，差養娘[6]玉蘭為武松唱曲、斟酒勸酒，趁機假許婚配，終令武松遭陷入獄。此外，人物在節慶場景中會顯露出具有時代烙印的性格特點。如平素行俠仗義、嫉惡如仇的武松，在中秋筵宴上主動逼退張督監家的夫人宅眷。該情節反映出宋代平民恪守禮數的思維特徵，使得武松的人物形象更加立體、真實。

帶有宗教迷信性質的節日在宋代蔚然成風，與當時佛道二教流行、新的封建迷信出現關係密切（朱瑞熙，1987：79-80）。值得注意的是，盂蘭盆節雖歸屬佛教，但因其合乎慎終追遠的民間俗信，早于南朝梁武帝在位期間（502—549）受推而行，相沿作中元節。由於朱瑞熙先生在分析宋代的中元節時，將其歸為重大的季節性節日，因此，筆者在分析《水滸傳》的節日描寫時，不將盂蘭盆節視為宗教迷信節日。此外，「燕青智撲擎天柱」一回雖提及宣和三年（1121）燕青在東嶽帝生日（農曆三月二十八日）朝拜岱嶽廟之事[7]，但由於該回

與「美髯公誤失小衙內」中盂蘭盆節相關燈景均為金聖歎《水滸傳》刪減內容,本文對以上兩種節日及相關描寫將不做詳解。

除了展現民俗風情、推動情節發展、豐富人物形象,節日描寫對後世編撰《水滸傳》批評本也有重要作用。以重陽節為例,宣和二年(1120)的菊花大會,是宋江獨攬梁山權柄後,首次嘗試實現個人的政治抱負。換言之,該回中重陽菊花會,是故事情節由「上梁山」變為「下梁山」的結點,也是金聖歎腰斬《水滸傳》的依據之一。

綜合上述分析,筆者認為:《水滸傳》對官定節日和節氣、季節性節日的描寫最具研究價值。限於篇幅,本文將節選三段《水滸傳》原文以對比評析元宵節和中秋節相關描寫之英譯,從而總結翻譯策略,並對原文加以試譯。

三、《水滸傳》中傳統節日英譯對比評析及試譯

在文化全球化浪潮下,跨文化交際翻譯要求譯者基於語言因素、著眼超語言因素,運用不同的翻譯策略。有關賽、沙譯本文化因素的翻譯策略,已有研究論證,賽譯注重「異化」,沙譯側重「歸化」(高潔,2009)。本節欲結合原作中元宵節和中秋節的相關描寫,進行譯文文本分析,比較賽、沙譯本對於超語言因素的具體體現,總結其為實現跨文化交際提供的寶貴經驗(相關譯文以粗體體現)。本節還將指出賽、沙譯本之不足,通過重譯相關選段,為古典文學跨文化交際翻譯的策略和方法提供新思路(相關譯文均以劃線體現)。

(一) 元宵節

元宵節,又稱「燈節」,「民間有掛燈、打燈之習俗」(申士垚、傅美琳,1994:217)。「宋江夜看小鰲山」一回中,作者對觀燈遊樂有如下描寫:

且說這清風寨鎮上居民,商量放燈一事,準備慶賞元宵。科斂錢物,去土地大王廟前,紮縛起一座小鰲山,上面結彩懸花,張掛五七百碗花燈。土地大王廟內,逞應諸般社火。家家門前,紮起燈棚,賽懸燈火。市鎮上,諸行百藝都有,雖然比不得京師,只此也是人間天上。(施、金,2006:280)

賽譯:

Let it be told now concerning the people who lived in the town of Clear Winds. They went out with their lanterns and they prepared to celebrate the feast and to make merry, and for this everyone had put out some money or gifts and they went to the Temple Of The God Of Earth And Water and there they made a small mountain. On top they used cloth of five colors and twisted flowers into it, and upon it there were some five or seven hundred lanterns lit. Inside the temple there were games going on. In front of everyone's house a frame was set up whereupon lanterns hung high, and every sort of music and merrymaking could be heard in the streets. Although it could not be compared to the feast day in the capital, yet it was a little heaven for merrymakers. (Buck, 1948: 305)

沙譯:

The town residents talked over how they would celebrate it. They all chipped in, went to the King of Earth Temple and erected in front of it a framework of a turtle-shaped hill on which they hung six or seven hundred colored lanterns, and topped it all off with bunting and streamers. In the temple courtyard, there were various games. People also built trellises and suspended pretty lanterns in front of their homes. In the market section of town every shop had its own entertainments and amusements. While not as lavishly celebrated as in the capital,

the festival to the local people seemed like heaven on earth. (Shapiro, 2013: 329)

評析：

在翻譯建築名稱、節日場景和活動時，筆者認為，譯者須查明專有名詞的文化內涵及所指特徵，精確用詞。以「土地大王廟」為例，在中國神話傳說中，「土地大王廟」是供奉土地神的廟宇。俗語雲，「土地靈則虎豹不入境」（袁珂，1985：18-19）。「土地神」又名「社神」，是地方土地的保護神。筆者認為，賽譯本將「土地大王廟」譯為「the Temple of the God of Earth and Water」和沙譯本將其譯為「the King of Earth Temple」均有不妥之處。前者擴大了「土地神」的「職責」，後者不符合「土地神」在中國民間的角色設定。再以土地廟前的「鼇山」為例。「鼇山」是舊時的一種元宵燈景，因燈彩堆迭成山，像傳說中巨鼇的形狀而得名（吳山，2010：794），並非賽譯本和沙譯本所寫「先有山（或者框架），其上再有燈」的情狀。最後，以土地廟內的「社火」為例。「社火」原指社日扮演的各種雜戲，後演化為凡在節日內扮演的雜戲和雜耍[8]（申士垚、傅美琳，1994：406）。因此，「社日」與「社火」承載著中國的傳統神話傳說，是中國古代社會習俗和農耕文明的體現。然而，賽譯本和沙譯本均將「社火」譯為「games」，對此，筆者認為，該用詞未能具體、準確地反映出中國古代的民俗民風。試譯將根據「鼇山」的構造及名稱來源，重現源語文本中物質文化的特徵，並通過還原「土地廟」的含義及功用、「社火」的起源及發展，體現源語文本中的宗教文化和民俗風尚。

除了精確使用名詞，筆者認為，譯者可結合情景語境，採用目的語中地道的動詞表達，意譯節日活動，從而更加生動地展現源語文化所含之節日場景。以「科斂財物」為例。沙譯本將其譯為「all chipped in」，和賽譯本將其直譯為「put out some money or gifts」相比，更能體現元宵節慶全民參與、共同籌措的景象。

綜合上述分析，以下為筆者對原文選段的試譯：

Let's look at the residents who lived in the town and talked over how to celebrate the fifteenth day of the first lunar month. That was a great time to enjoy lanterns, so people all chipped in. They went to the local Tutelary Spirit Temple, and in front of it, they tied and piled numerous lanterns into a hill that looked like a huge turtle. The lantern hill was topped all off with bunting, streamers, and hundreds of colored lanterns. Then, in the temple courtyard, variety shows and acrobatics were on for celebration. People also hung high pretty lanterns in front of their houses by suspending them on trellises. Every sort of entertainment and amusement could be seen along the streets in the market section of town. While celebrated less lavishly than in the capital, such a feast of lanterns, shows and merrymaking to the local people seemed like heaven on earth.

在該回另一段節日描寫中，作者詳細描繪了花燈樣式和社火表演，涉及更多民俗風情和文化內涵。原文如下：

……到這清風鎮上看燈時，只見家家門前搭起燈棚，懸掛花燈，不計其數。燈上畫著許多故事。也有剪綵飛白牡丹花燈，並芙蓉荷花異樣燈火。四五個人，手廝挽著，來到大王廟前，在鼇山前看了一回，迤邐投南看燈。走不過五七百步，只見前面燈燭熒煌，一夥人圍住在一個大牆院門首熱鬧。鑼聲響處，眾人喝采，宋江看時，卻是一夥舞「鮑老」的……那跳「鮑老」的身軀，紐得村村勢勢的，宋江看了，呵呵大笑[9]。（施、金，2006：280）

賽譯：

[…] They went out into thecity to see the lanterns. They saw lanterns at every gate and flowered lanterns hanging there, and upon the lanterns were written many stories. There were lanterns like flying birds and lanterns like peonies, lanterns like hibiscus flowers and lotus flowers, and every sort of lantern was there.

The three or four of them holding hands came thus to the front of the temple and they looked at the lantern mountain there for a while and then they followed the road to the south. They had not gone more than five or

seven hundred paces when they saw in the brightness of the lanterns ahead of them a crowd of people gathered about a gate to some great court and they were making merry there. There was the sound of drum beating and men's voices shouted out, "Good — good!" Sung Chiang, seeing this, saw it was a troupe of masked actors, […]

There the chief actor was staggering and playing a coarse fellow and Sung Chiang, seeing him, laughed a great ho-ho! (Buck, 1948: 306)

沙譯：

[…] In town he saw the fancy lanterns hanging from lattices in front of every door. Many showed story pictures. Some were cut — outs of lovely flowers — white peony, hibiscus, lotus.

Holding hands to keep together in the crowds Song Jiang and his escort went to the King of Earth Temple and admired the hill of lanterns, then walked south along a winding street. After proceeding six or seven hundred paces they saw ahead a bevy of glowing lanterns and a throng of merry-makers before the gate of a high-walled compound. Gongs brayed, music tootled, people cheered. They were watching a troupe of dancers in comic masks.

[…] The chief comic did an exaggerated imitation of a rustic's walk, and Song Jiang roared with laughter. (Shapiro, 2013: 329)

評析：

賞燈場景涉及豐富的燈具工藝和人物動作，因此，精確用詞不僅限於在目的語中採用地道的表達，還包括體現源語文化內涵、具化源語語境。以下分析將聚焦專有名詞和動作的翻譯方法。

以「燈棚」為例。據馬思贊[10]《燈節竹枝詞》所言，「十字街頭三叉路，四條青竹架燈棚」（楊焄，2019：11）。燈棚類似於支撐攀緣植物的棚架，而非「lattice」所指，常用作屏風和柵欄的花格結構。因此，筆者認為：沙譯本將「燈棚」譯為「lattice」存在不妥，建議若「燈棚」首次出現，可譯為「trellis」；若高頻出現，則以「frame」指代。

當源語語言中的名詞在目的語語言中缺失對應時，筆者認為，可通過「直譯+增譯」的方法，盡可能充分地再現源語所指意象。以「剪綵飛白牡丹花燈」為例，燈匠在糊制燈籠的材料上剪裁出牡丹花樣，光束穿過鏤空部分，如傳統書畫中的飛白筆法，絲絲露白。賽譯本將其譯為「lanterns like flying birds and lanterns like peonies」與沙譯本將其譯為「some were cut — outs of lovely flowers — white peony, hibiscus, lotus」均存在不妥。前者誤解了「飛白」在燈名中的含義，後者誤將剪綵技藝與異形花燈糅合。筆者認為，可將「剪綵飛白牡丹花燈」先直譯為「Peony Cut-Out Feibai Lantern」，再結合「飛白」一詞自身的文化意義，增譯花燈形態的制法工藝，從而展現「飛白」在燈名中的喻義。

「直譯+增譯」的翻譯方法同樣適用於目的語缺失對應動詞的情況。以「廝挽」為例，沙譯本將「廝挽」譯為「holding hands to keep together in the crowds」和賽譯本將其譯為「holding hands came thus to the front of the temple」相比，能更具體地展現出節慶期間人山人海的情景語境。

再從動詞的角度分析，筆者認為，譯者須考察動作本身和執行者的狀態。首先，以「在鼇山前看了一回」為例，賽譯本將「看」直譯為「look」，沙譯本則譯為「admire」。兩者相比，後者更符合賞燈的行為。其次，以「迤邐投南」為例。結合賞燈之景可得，並非道路蜿蜒而是人潮湧動使人難以直行。因此，筆者建議，將沙譯本中「walked south along a winding street」改為「wound their way south」。最後，以「一夥人圍住在一個大牆院門首」為例，賽譯本和沙譯本雖分別以「a crowd of people」和「a throng of merry-makers」反映人數之多，但在處理人物動作時，前者選用「gathered about」，後者選擇省譯，均未體現出人們「裡三層、外三層」圍在院落

門首看戲的狀態。對此,筆者建議:保留「throng」以形容人的數量,再以動詞短語「crowd round」展現群眾層層圍觀之場面。

除了還原人物動作和源語語境,精確動詞還利於準確反映源語所含物質文化。以「花燈」為例。據記載,「花燈」是一種多以竹、木、金屬為框架,以輕薄透明的紙、紗、絹、綢糊制,其上作畫或雕刻的民間工藝品(吳山,2010:794)。賽譯本將其譯為「upon the lanterns were written many stories」,既不符合「畫」的字面義,也不符合元宵花燈其上作畫或雕刻的傳統工藝。與之相比,沙譯本將其譯為「many〔i. e., lanterns〕showed story pictures」更符合源語物質文化中花燈的做法工藝。

此外,筆者發現,「直譯+歸化」的方法可用于翻譯「擬聲詞+動作」的結構。在「宋江看了,呵呵大笑」一句中,沙譯本採用歸化策略,將「呵呵大笑」譯為「roared with laughter」,賽譯本則直譯中文擬聲詞,將小句譯為「laughed a great ho-ho」,由此可見,採用直譯擬聲詞,再以目的語語言描述動作的翻譯方法,既可保留源語特色又能保證譯文可讀性。

最後,對於漢語通俗白話特有之「數詞作虛指」的用法,筆者認為,可以意譯虛指數詞。以「五七百碗花燈」和「五七百步」為例,若直譯數詞,則會出現不符合目的語語言習慣的重複。因此,對於漢語中「數詞作虛指」的情況,譯者應結合語境,將該數詞意譯為不定數量詞。例如,將「五七百碗花燈」譯為「hundreds of colored lanterns」,將「走不過五七百步」譯為「after a short walk」。

綜合上述分析,以下為筆者對原文選段的試譯:

In town, they "i. e., Song Jiang and his escort, Huang Rong's close relatives and bosom friends" saw fancy lanterns, many painted with story pictures, hanging high from the frame before every door. Lanterns came in all shapes and sizes, some like hibiscus and some like lotus flowers. On top of that, they saw a sort of lantern named "Peony Cut-Out Feibai Lantern" whose wrapping was elaborately hollowed out to let light pierce out in the shape of peonies. Since the light seemed the threadlike blank left by a half-dry brush, it was compared to the writing in hollow strokes which was known as the style of "Feibai" in Chinese Calligraphy.

Holding hands to keep together in the crowds, Song Jiang and his escort reached the local Tutelary Spirit Temple and admired the hill of lanterns. Then they wound their way south. After a short walk, they saw a bevy of lanterns glowing ahead and a throng of merry-makers crowding around in front of the gate to a high-walled compound. Gongs tootled, and people cheered. Song Jiang looked towards there — a troupe of comic actors were dancing in masks. The chief actor played a rustic walking by an exaggerated imitation of staggering. "Ho — ho!" Seeing this, Song Jiang roared with laughter.

(二) 中秋節

中秋成為民間傳統佳節,與「嫦娥奔月」的神話有密切關係,因此,中秋風俗多與賞月有關。至於節日活動及寓意,則在宋朝發生較大轉變——從唐朝文人玩月吟詩的團體活動,發展為北宋年間宴飲賞玩的全民活動。「武松大鬧飛雲浦」一回中,作者對宴請賞月有如下描寫:

時光迅速,卻早又是八月中秋。張都監向後堂深處,鴛鴦樓下,安排筵宴,慶賞中秋,叫喚武松到裡面飲酒。武松見夫人宅眷,都在席上,吃了一杯,便待轉身出來。張都監喚住武松問道:「你那裡去?」武松答道:「恩相在上,夫人宅眷在此飲宴,小人理合回避。」(施、金,2006:253)

賽譯:

Time passed swiftly and it was soon the fifteenth day of the eighth moon and the middle of autumn and the General was in the innermost hall in the lower part of the Hall of the Mandarin Ducks. There a feast had been

prepared in celebration of the mid-autumn moon festival. and the General had commanded Wu Sung to come in to drink wine. Wu Sung, seeing that the ladies of the household were present, drank one cup and made his obeisance, and then he turned and came away. But the General called Wu Sung and asked him, saying, "Whither do you go?"

And Wu Sung answered, saying, "Most Gracious One and above me, since the ladies of the house are present at the feast, it is decorous for me to withdraw myself." (Buck, 1948: 275)

沙譯：

Soon it was the eighth lunar month. General Zhang laid a feast in the Duck and Drake Bower deep in the rear courtyard to celebrate Mid-Autumn Festival. He invited Wu Song. When Wu Song saw that the general's wife and other female members of the household were present, he drank one cup and turned to leave.

"Where are you going?" the general called.

"With the ladies here, I had better withdraw." (Shapiro, 2013: 299)

評析：

在中秋宴請的情境中，人物互動相對豐富，相關情節也因此包含多種文化因素和超語言因素。

從精確用詞的角度分析，筆者認為，有關物質文化的名詞、體現語篇情景的動作，以及表現話語習慣的語體，均需斟酌。首先，以「（張督監）叫喚武松到裡面飲酒」為例，筆者認為，賽譯本將「酒」譯為「wine」存在不妥。據記載，北宋年間，釀酒雖引入羊羔、蜂蜜、菊花或些許中藥，但仍舊以穀物為主要原料（陳曉明，2002：60），而「wine」在無限定詞修飾的情況下，通常表示「葡萄酒」或「（其他）果酒」。因此，將北宋年間的「酒」單譯作「wine」不符合當時的飲酒風尚。其次，以「叫喚」為例，賽譯本將其譯為「command」，表示「命令」，語氣強硬，不符合張督監此前對武松「與酒與食」、「把作親人一般看待」（施、金，2006：253）的行為。與之相比，沙譯本將「叫喚」譯為「invite」，表示「邀請」，更符合源語文本中的人物關係。再以「小人理合回避」為例，賽譯本將「理合」譯為「decorous」，而「decorous」有「行為拘謹受束」的意味，用以表現武松此時對張督監滿心謙卑的態度存在不妥。與之相比，沙譯本將「理合」譯為「had better」，從客觀上表示理應做某事，更符合武松此處的個人話語基調。最後，關於源語文本的話語習慣。《水滸傳》以白話為主，人物對話通俗明快。對於張督監問武松「你那裡去？」一句，賽譯本將其譯為「Whither do you go？」，其中「whither」是「where」的古體形式，亦被視為詩歌語言，類似於漢語中「你何處去？」。與之相比，沙譯本將其譯為「Where are you going？」，在情景語境的層面更接近原作的白話口語。由此可見，精確用詞可展現源語文本中的節日場景、人物活動，以及微妙的人物關係，並且提高目的語文本對源語文本中文化內涵和節慶場面的還原度。

當節日名稱等源語語言特有的文化成分在目的語語言中存在缺失時，「直譯＋增譯」不失為一種有效的翻譯策略。以「中秋節」為例。據記載，中國古代以農曆七、八、九月為秋季，八月十五正當秋季中間，故曰「中秋」（申士垚、傅美琳，1994：239）。賽譯本雖將「八月」之「月」誤譯為「moon」，但反映了中秋與月的聯繫。與之相反，沙譯本雖指出中國農曆，但在表述中秋節時間時並不準確，且未能體現其與賞月活動的關聯。對此，筆者建議：在原文首次提及中國傳統節日時，譯文可先譯出準確時間，再基於時代背景，結合節日活動及其文化寓意，簡要概述節日特徵。

此外，「直譯＋增譯」的技巧還可用於串連人物動作，還原並體現源語文本歷史背景和社會文化。以「（武松）吃了一杯，便待轉身出來」為例，沙譯本直譯「吃」與「轉身出來」兩個動作，賽譯本則增譯了「made his obeisance」。兩者相比，後者通過補充武松提前離席的行禮之舉，更加具體地展現出原文所屬時代的社會禮節。

另一方面，當專有名詞所含文化資訊或語境資訊較多時，「直譯＋注釋」的翻譯策略可在充分反映源語文

本超語言因素的同時,避免譯文主體的冗長。以「鴛鴦樓」為例,張都監於「鴛鴦樓下」宴請武松慶賞中秋。對此,金聖歎評注道:「獅子街必是武松殺人處,鴛鴦樓不是武松飲酒處也」(施、金,2006:253)。「鴛鴦」在中國古典文學中,雖常被視為「神仙眷侶」的象徵,但作者此處以「鴛鴦」命名設宴之樓閣,不僅暗示張督監將為武松許配妻室,且與後文他以此陷害武松形成反襯,產生反諷的藝術效果。賽譯本將「鴛鴦樓」譯為「Hall of the Mandarin Ducks」,從生態文化的角度看,未能體現「鴛鴦」一詞自身的象徵意義;從情景語境的角度看,未能反映其在源語文本中的諷刺意味。與之相比,沙譯本將「鴛鴦樓」譯為「Duck and Drake Bower」雖展現出「鴛鴦」的文化寓意,即夫妻出雙入對,但仍未傳達出原作者選用「鴛鴦」命名樓閣的寓意。此外,後者在物質文化上存在不妥——「bower」表示「涼亭」,或指由樹枝、藤蔓纏絡而成的遮陰棚,既不符合張督監設宴「鴛鴦樓下」的情節表述。對此,筆者認為:當源語文本以文化因素對地點名稱加以寓意時,譯文應先精確語言,準確傳達文化因素的基礎內涵,再以增譯或注釋,展現相關因素在語篇中的特定含義。以「鴛鴦樓」在選段中的英譯為例,筆者建議,可在正文部分將其譯為「Ducks and Drakes Hall」,再通過加注闡釋其語篇寓意,以免正文冗長。

最後,在翻譯既有文化特徵又偏向口語表達的稱謂時,筆者認為,可採用「意譯+歸化」的策略。以武松答話時對張督監的稱謂——「恩相在上」為例。沙譯本選擇省譯,賽譯本則將其直譯為「Most Gracious One and above me」。後者雖略顯冗長,但從話語基調的角度看,能具體體現出武松與張督監以下對上的身份和人物關係,以及他對張督監的謙卑態度。對此,筆者建議,將「恩相」譯為「my benefactor」,以此和目的語文本中「my lady」等稱謂對應,以目的語文化為認同。

綜合上述分析,以下為筆者對原文選段的試譯:

Time passed swiftly and soon it was the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month — the Mid-Autumn Festival — a good time for people to gather together and enjoy the full moon. General Zhang laid a feast downstairs the "Ducks and Drakes Hall" * in the innermost part of the rear courtyard, and he asked Wu Song to join his feast in celebration of the Mid-Autumn Festival. However, after drinking up one cup, Wu Song made his obeisance and turned to leave, because he saw the wife and other female members of General Zhang's household were present as well.

"Where're you going?" General Zhang called him.

"I had better to withdraw from your feast, my benefactor. Because your wife and your other female family members were making marrying there." Wu Song answered.

* The hall where General Zhang entertained Wu Song was named "Ducks and Drakes Hall," which has two implications. Literarily, it implies people get married. Because in traditional Chinese literature, ducks and drakes, i. e., Mandarin ducks, are often used to symbolize married couples. Secondly, it implies General Zhang was dishonest to Wu Song. This is confirmed later when General Zhang framed Wu Song for theft. Since the phrase "to play ducks and drakes with someone" means to treat someone without genuine respect, the name of the hall can also imply that General Zhang was deceiving Wu Song.

綜上所述,歸化和異化的翻譯策略在跨文化交際翻譯中各有用武之地。筆者認為,精確用詞要求譯者結合語境,選用地道表達,考量(包括但不限於)名詞、動詞和語體等因素,按需組合直譯、意譯、增譯和注釋等方法,發掘利於闡明漢語特有思維方式的翻譯技巧,從而呈現源語文本的文化內涵、語篇情景和話語習慣,傳達出傳統節日在特定時代背景和語篇情景下的具體內涵,及其與故事情節和人物活動的關聯。

四、結語

　　翻譯是文化的交談,文化是語言的搖籃。各民族文化不僅滲透在語言之中,還會受到自然環境的影響,體現在生產勞動、風俗習慣和宗教信仰等其他方面。筆者認為,在跨文化交際翻譯下,翻譯古典名著描寫傳統節日的相關情節,需要譯者結合前人經驗,採取適當的翻譯策略,有效處理英漢兩種語言中文化資訊的具體含義、聯想含義以及文化意象的不同。正如王佐良先生所說:「對本族語者不必解釋的事,對國外讀者得加以解釋」(王佐良,1985:6)。譯者要在「求同」之時,持有「求異」、「化異」之意識,以免譯文丟失源語文本中的超文字因素及文化神韻。

注釋

　　① 截止 2021 年 11 月 5 日,在「中國知網」主題中輸入「跨文化」和「典籍英譯」可得文獻 179 篇。然輸入「跨文化」、「典籍英譯」和「傳統節日」則無可得文獻。

　　② 具體章回見附表:《水滸傳》主要節日一覽表。

　　③ 本文所選沙譯本源自 http://worldlibrary.org。

　　④ 賽譯本和沙譯本均為《水滸傳》的英文全譯本,但兩者源語文本有別。賽譯本以金聖歎批評本《水滸傳》(又名《貫華堂第五才子書水滸傳》、《金聖歎批評第五才子書水滸傳》)為源語文本,以楔子為序,正書七十回。沙譯本以容與堂本《水滸傳》(又名《容與堂刊忠義水滸傳》)為源語文本,以楔子為第一回,共計一百回。若無特殊說明,本文所含文本分析之原文,均選自金聖歎批評本《水滸傳》。

　　⑤ 此計數基於袁無涯刊本百二十回《水滸全傳》。具體章回見附表。

　　⑥ 宋元時期(960—1368),乳母或女傭被稱作「養娘」。原作雖對玉蘭身份無明確鑒定,但據其外貌體態及張督監將其配與武松之情節,玉蘭多被視作張督監家中女僕。

　　⑦ 據朱瑞熙先生在《宋代的節日》中記載,各地信眾會在東嶽帝生日前一天在路上通宵拜會,並於正日會集東嶽傳祠,乞求農業豐稔。

　　⑧ 社日,為中國古代祭祀土地神的日子,一年兩次,分別在春秋兩季。

　　⑨ 兩處省略分別為:「宋江和花榮家親隨體己人兩三個,跟隨著緩步徐行。」、「宋江矮矬,人背後看不見,那相陪的體己人,卻認得社火隊裡,便教分開眾人,讓宋江看。」

　　⑩ 馬思贊(1669—1722),字寒中,清代著名藏書家、書畫家。

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附表：《水滸傳》主要節日一覽表

節日名稱	時間	對應回目	章回名稱
元宵節	政和七年（1117）	第三十三回	宋江夜看小鼇山 花榮大鬧清風寨
元宵節	宣和二年（1120）	第六十六回	時遷火燒翠雲樓 吳用智取大名府
元宵節	宣和三年（1121）	第七十二回	柴進簪花入禁苑 李逵元夜鬧東京
元宵節	宣和四年（1122）	第八十一回	燕青月夜遇道君 戴宗定計出樂和
元宵節	宣和五年（1123）	第百一十回	燕青秋林渡射雁 宋江東京城獻俘
中秋節	政和三年（1113）	第二回	王教頭私走延安府 九紋龍大鬧史家村
中秋節	政和六年（1118）	第三十回	施恩三入死囚牢 武松大鬧飛雲浦
重陽節	宣和二年（1120）	第七十一回	忠義堂石碣受天文 梁山泊英雄排座次
端午節	政和五年（1116）	第十六回	楊志押送金銀擔 吳用智取生辰綱
臘八節	政和六年（1118）	第三十二回	武行者醉打孔亮 錦毛虎義釋宋江
盂蘭盆節	重合元年（1118）	第五十一回	插翅虎枷打白秀英 美髯公誤失小衙內
正旦節	宣和五年（1123）	第九十三回	李逵夢鬧天池 宋江兵分兩路
東嶽帝生日	宣和三年（1121）	第七十四回	燕青智撲擎天柱 李逵壽張喬坐衙

注：此計數基於袁無涯刊本百二十回《水滸全傳》

(Editors: MI Yaoge & LENG Xueyuan)

The Chinese Image Under the Perspective of Imagology: A Case Study Based on President Xi's Speech at the National Conference to Review the Fight Against Poverty and Commend Individuals and Groups Involved

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Abstract: Imagology has offered a new perspective to international publicity translation and global communication. Based on imagology, this paper highlights the role of international publicity translation in shaping China's national image. The paper further combines with the theory of imagology to analyze and summarize the translation strategies based on the translation of Chinese poverty elimination to better present China's national image in global communication.

Keywords: imagology; international publicity translation; Chinese poverty elimination

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形象學視域下脫貧攻堅中國經驗的外宣翻譯策略研究
——以《習近平全國脫貧攻堅總結表彰大會講話》為例

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摘　要：形象學為外宣翻譯和國際傳播提供了全新視角和思路。從形象學視角出發，探討外宣翻譯策略在國家形象塑造中的重要作用，進而結合形象學理論，對脫貧攻堅中國經驗的翻譯策略進行基於語料的分析和歸納，旨在為

外宣翻譯提供理據,推進國家形象建設。

關鍵詞:形象學;外宣翻譯策略;脫貧攻堅中國經驗

引言

作為世界上最大的發展中國家,中華人民共和國自成立以來,一直致力於為人民帶來福祉、實現共同富裕。2012 年,中共十八大詳細描繪了全面建成小康社會、加快推進社會主義現代化的宏偉藍圖,向中國人民發出了向實現「兩個一百年」奮鬥目標進軍的時代號召。因此,脫貧、減貧工作長期以來一直是國家工作重點。

近年來,在實現國家經濟高速增長的同時,中國的貧困治理卓有成效。2021 年 2 月 25 日,在全國脫貧攻堅總結表彰大會上,中共中央總書記習近平莊嚴宣告中國「脫貧攻堅戰取得了全面勝利」,這也標誌著中國完成了消除絕對貧困的艱巨任務。中國在貧困治理中取得的成果得到了國際社會的廣泛認可,中國的貧困治理經驗也越來越的到國際社會的關注。

綜上,將中國貧困治理取得的成功經驗通過外宣翻譯的形式向國際社會有效傳播,既有利於幫助世界上其他國家減貧、脫貧,也有利於提升中國的國際影響力,塑造更良好的國家形象,為世界更進一步瞭解中國提供寶貴機遇。

一、形象學與國家形象

形象學起源於 19 世紀法國的比較文學,旨在「研究關於國家的他者形象和自我形象的文學、文學史及其文學批評,其重點在於探討形象的生成、發展和影響」(鄭洵,2021)。

「形象」是形象學的具體研究內容,其內涵包括「一,人、物的相貌形狀;二,能夠作用於人們的感官,使人們產生印象、觀念、思想及情感活動的物質;三,具體與抽象的統一,也是物質與精神的統一」(秦啟文、周永康,2004)。比較文學中的「形象」更符合第二層定義。

國內其他學者對「形象」的具體內涵有著廣泛而深刻的討論。陳吉榮、都媛認為,形象是指「研究者通過對非本國的文學作品的研究和理解,在頭腦中形成一定的印象和觀念,然後對這些印象和觀念進行加工和塑造,形成最終的形象」(陳吉榮,都媛,2014);高超則指出「在比較文學的語境下,形象學是作為比較文學的一個學科分支而存在的,以研究異國形象為主要內容。主要研究的是文學作品中的異國形象,在這些作品中或是直接描繪異國,或涉及或多或少模式化了的對一個異國的總體認識」(高超,2011)。由此可見,「形象」作為形象學的研究重點,其內涵已經延伸至多個領域,包括但不限於個人形象、公司形象、社會形象、國家形象等。

綜上,可以看出,形象學的研究重點在於「異國/他國形象」。從這一層面來講,國家形象的內涵並不僅指一個國家對自身的認知與描述,它還包括其他認知主體對該國的認知與描述。因此,無論從本國立場或是其他認知主體立場出發,對某一國家的國家形象進行描述時,描述者自身的意識形態、所處位置等多方面因素都會影響真實國家形象的塑造。

國家形象的塑造是一個複雜過程。在外宣翻譯中,國家形象的塑造更是重中之重。因此,從形象學的角度考察外宣翻譯中國家形象的塑造有著十分積極的意義。

二、形象學與翻譯研究的碰撞

隨著形象學的不斷發展,其跨學科發展趨勢不斷展現,學界開始將形象學引入翻譯研究。

雖然比較文學理論家很早就將形象概念引入翻譯研究,但是形象學在翻譯研究領域的興起恰恰發生在比較文學日漸式微之後(王運鴻,2018)。筆者查閱到的英文文獻中,最早明確將形象學理論與翻譯研究相結合的是土耳其學者 Nedret Kuran-Burcoglu,借用羅蘭・巴特在《神話學》中對形象建構性的分析,他從土耳其的具體語境出發,考察了目標語文化中現存的「異國形象」對翻譯過程「塑形性質」(formative)的影響,而翻譯作品也在接受過程中強化、挑戰、改變了目標語文化中的異國形象。

但是,以形象學理論為視角的翻譯研究並沒有就此形成完整的理論體系,直至 2015 年出版的《翻譯研究與形象學》(*Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*)一書。該書收錄了 17 篇形象學視角下翻譯研究的代表性論文,是形象學理論與翻譯研究有力結合的最新成果。國內外權威期刊,如《外國語》曾在 2018 年刊登過王運鴻教授對該書的介評,這都使的形象學理論與翻譯研究的結合越來越得到學界關注,也越來越得到學界的認可。
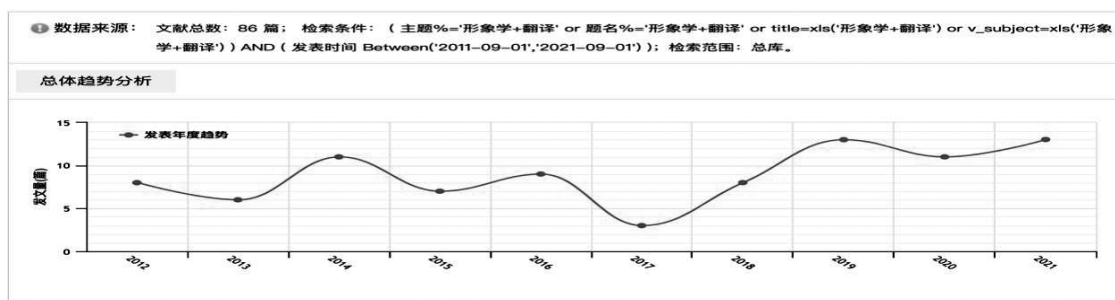

圖 1:2011—2021 年期間「形象學與翻譯研究」論文趨勢圖

國內學界在這一領域也有一定成果。根據筆者在知網的檢索(截至 2021 年 9 月 1 日),近十年,特別是近五年來,「形象學與翻譯研究」方面的論文呈顯著上升趨勢(見圖 1),學界的關注重點多停留在文學作品中的形象建構(陳吉榮,都媛,2014;李小霞,2016;王運鴻,2019)或是形象學與翻譯研究二者之間的學理探討(王運鴻,2018;王運鴻,2019),對中央文獻外宣翻譯以及國家形象構建之間的關係探究較少。

德國學者狄澤林克認為只有符合目標語讀者期待的異域文學作品才能被譯入語讀者所接受,即「只有在譯入語讀者心目中樹立起正面的他者形象的作品才能得到讀者的共鳴和認同」。翻譯正是不同語言之間的轉換,其過程可以理解為譯者從不同角度對原文進行形象解讀後在譯文中預設目標形象供目的語讀者評賞。而譯者根據在翻譯過程中為順應目標語受眾所作出的種種翻譯策略抉擇,很大程度上決定了譯介作在異國文化中的接受度,即他者形象。

因此,筆者認為從形象學理論的角度對中國外宣翻譯策略進行考察,不僅能夠探究中國外宣翻譯策略對國家形象起到的積極作用,也能夠彌補當前國內在這一領域研究的空缺。

三、外宣翻譯在國家形象塑造中的重要作用

國家形象的內涵是多元化的。劉小燕(2002)曾指出,國家形象是指國家的客觀狀態在公眾輿論中的投射,即社會大眾對國家的印象、看法、態度的綜合反映,是公眾對國家所具有的情感和意志的綜合。根據這

一定義,國家形象不僅包括社會對國家的客觀描述,也融合了公眾對國家的情感紐帶。但是,上述定義中的國家形象僅囊括了本國公眾對國家的客觀評判與情感,並未囊括別國對本國的客觀評價與情感認知。因此,段鵬(2007)將國家形象的概念進一步細化,分為國家實體 形象、國家虛擬形象和公眾認知形象 3 個層次。其中公眾認知形象著重於研究國家形象在外部受眾群體中的反應,闡述受眾基於自身的認知能力和範圍通過各類宣傳材料對它國形象進行綜合判斷。他國公眾由於不懂本國語言,只能依靠翻譯對本國文化進行涉獵和瞭解。由此可見,翻譯在跨文化傳播形象塑造中起著至關重要的作用。

「國家形象的國際傳播是冷戰後西方發達國家實現強化國際影響力的重要手段」(鄭洄,2021)。自冷戰結束後,不同國家開始建構自身的「國家形象」、「國家品牌」,通過一系列手段讓本國的國際影響力的到不斷強化。但是,不得不承認,當今世界仍是西方國家聲音為主導。例如疫情期間,部分西方媒體不斷抹黑、污蔑中國,對中國的國家形象造成巨大影響;部分西方媒體談到中國帶領中國人民脫離貧困、共同致富時,甚至以「新疆棉」為藉口,污蔑、抹黑中國形象。

因此,習近平總書記強調「要向世界講好中國故事」、要「打造融通中外的新概念、新範疇、新表述」。筆者認為,想要構建中國特色話語體系與良好國際形象,對外翻譯在其中佔有舉足輕重的位置。譯者應當真實、全面、客觀地反映中國社會發展現狀,以此消解中國在國際輿論場中的「失語」現象,建立同西方國家的有效溝通管道。只有這樣,我們才能夠真正講好中國故事,向世界傳播中國的積極國家形象。

但是一段時間以來,國內學界對此並不夠重視,人們想當然地認為學會別國語言就可以進行有效的跨文化傳播,卻忽略了傳播的實際效果。筆者認為,想要實現有效的國家形象跨文化傳播,不能僅依靠語言的機械轉換,更要將非語言行為、價值觀念、文化差異等多個因素考慮在內。

綜上,中國需要在世界話語體系中佔有一席之地,翻譯扮演者關鍵角色。作為翻譯工作的實踐者,譯者應當瞭解別國話語運作特點,產出易為國際社會理解的通用話語,傳播積極的中國形象,消除誤會與分歧。筆者將以《習近平全國脫貧攻堅總結表彰大會講話》為例,通過對 2021 年 5 月由中央編譯出版社出版的官方英譯文進行深入探討,從形象學的角度對其翻譯策略進行歸納與分析。

四、脫貧攻堅中國經驗的英譯策略

2021 年 2 月 25 日,在全國脫貧攻堅總結表彰大會上,中共中央總書記習近平莊嚴宣告中國「脫貧攻堅戰取得了全面勝利」,這也標誌著中國完成了消除絕對貧困的艱巨任務。中國在貧困治理中取得的成果得到了國際社會的廣泛認可,中國的貧困治理經驗也越來越的到國際社會的關注。習近平總書記在大會上的演講全面總結了中國脫貧攻堅戰中所付出的努力,是向世界展示中國成績的重要媒介之一。因此,筆者認為,在翻譯該文本的過程中,譯者應當具備形象意識,並結合漢英兩種語言各自的特點,靈活採用翻譯策略,實現有效的跨文化傳播。

(一)字詞層面:內涵明示

由於不同的生活環境、社會背景、社會制度等因素,漢英兩種語言在用詞習慣、修辭手法等多方面存在著很大不同:不同的生存環境使得不同地區、國家的人面對相同或類似的情景、事件產生不同的認知方式,進而產生不同視角,出現不同的語言表達形式,這也造就了字詞含義的不對等;此外,相較英語的平實、直白,漢語更迂回婉轉,喜用修辭結構描述事物。因此,要成功地在異域文化中塑造「他者」形象,「首先必須對他者文化進行成功解讀和翻譯,這個過程同時也是對自我文化的闡釋和翻譯」(炎萍,2021)。

綜上,貿然將中文部分字詞直譯為英文,難免會在他者文化中形成與中文形象不同、甚至完全相反的形

象,既不利於原文含義的傳播,也對構建積極中國形象有害。因此,將爭議字詞進行內含明示能夠有效彌合英漢兩種語言之間的不同。

例1 打土豪

overthrowing local tyrants

在中文裡,「土豪」指「地主、財主、有錢有勢的惡霸」,原文文意即為「打擊地方惡霸」,展現了中國共產黨幫助窮苦人翻身得解放、打擊地方惡勢力、帶領中國人民共同致富的決心。而在英文語境中,「地主」通常稱為「landlord」,為中性詞,並不具備中文語境中的貶義含義。因此。倘若忽略中、英兩種語言中存在的認知差異,將「土豪」直譯為「landlord」則會歪曲原文含義,損害國家形象。

當代形象學聚焦文學作品或是宣傳材料如何通過語言的跨文化傳遞塑造民族的社會及文化形象,因此在英文譯本中準確刻畫出與中文原文等效的形象是譯者需要解決的問題。在本例的譯文中,譯者創造性地將「土豪」一詞譯為「local tyrants」,將「土豪」一詞中晦澀的內涵以明示的翻譯方法表現出來,「土」即對應「local」,而「豪」則以「tyrants」代之。在英文中,「tyrants」一詞常用來代指「暴力用權的人」(any person who exercises power in a cruel way),恰好對應原文「惡霸」之意,也更易引起英文受眾共鳴。譯者對原文的這種釋義性明示翻譯讓英文受眾更好理解原文,也間接傳達「中國並非盲目打擊地主,而是打擊那些地方惡勢力」的意圖,營造出中國明察是非、理智判斷的積極國家形象,也間接證明了中國領導人帶領中國打贏脫貧攻堅戰的堅定決心。

通過譯例可以看出譯者首先準確地將源文進行自我翻譯和解讀,與此同時對譯入語受眾即他者話語進行闡釋,最後在此基礎上將譯文話語有效地呈現出來。

例2 我們緊緊扭住教育這個脫貧致富的根本之策。

We have maintained keen focus on education as an essential vehicle.

例2中,譯文將「根本之策」中的「策」創造性地改譯為「vehicle」,既反映出中國在脫貧減貧事業中時刻從根本上解決問題的特點,又展現了中國在脫貧減貧過程中主動找根本、積極治問題的積極形象。「不同語言體現了周圍受眾迥異的思維方式,譯入語讀者通常在閱讀過程中通過既有的文化與價值觀接受模式對他國文化元素進行評價,從而逐漸建立起他國的群體形象」(鄭洵,2021)。如果單純將「策」字直譯為「policy」或「strategy」,在英文受眾看來會聯想到某種戰略,可能會帶有政治性色彩,進而對中國形成強勢、消極的印象,這與原文想要傳遞的本意有所偏差。而譯者選擇的「vehicle」一詞在英文中有著積極主動的意味,常用來表示「事件發出者本身主動選擇的方法或管道」,可以給英文受眾帶來積極聯想。可以看出,將「策」一字譯為「vehicle」從一定程度上構建了中國積極主動的大國形象。

(二)句子層面:潤色改寫

呂翎曾談到:「要講好中國故事,要既做到內外有別,也要做到內外兼顧」(呂翎,2018)。由於語言背景、說話習慣等方面的不同,英、漢兩種語言互譯過程中往往需要對句子進行潤色或改寫,如對原文內容進行增添或刪除,以便讓目標語受眾更好地理解資訊。千篇一律的直譯非但不能忠實傳遞原文,甚至會造成誤會語隔閡。因此,句子層面的潤色、改寫十分必要,將中國故事、中國脫貧經驗以英語受眾可以理解的方式表達、講述,對建立成功的「他者形象」十分有利。

例3 脫貧群眾精神風貌煥然一新,增添了自立自強的信心勇氣。

People who have shaken off poverty have taken on afresh outlook, and acquired the confidence and courage to depend on themselves.

在例3中,譯文創造性地將「脫貧」改譯為「shake off poverty」、「增添」改譯為「acquire」,在譯文中建構出

中國「在脫貧事業中積極、主動」的良好形象。根據 Collins 詞典釋義,「shake off」一詞往往具有主動含義,強調「擺脫、掙脫」,具有極強的主觀意願。此外,根據 Collins 詞典釋義,「acquire」一詞意為「to gain something by your own efforts, ability or behavior」,同樣具有極強的個體主觀意願。中文僅用「脫貧」、「增添」,只是對事件進行了客觀描述,並無對中國人民主觀想要脫貧意願的強調。譯者在譯文中通過對句子的改寫潤色,試圖激起英文讀者「中國人民具有強烈主觀意願脫貧減貧」的認知,巧妙地將本體在譯文中的「他者形象」積極化,不失為在譯語讀者中建構中國脫貧攻堅積極形象的好辦法。

「形象具有高度的主觀性和時效性,它往往形成於人們閱讀完畢一段文字或是與某人短暫接觸後對某事物產生的綜合印象。而在此過程中往往一個表情符號或是一句話甚至一個詞都能對其產生深刻影響」(鄭洵,2021)。因此,在外宣翻譯的過程中,筆者認為譯者可以在一定範圍內對原文內容適當潤色、改寫,進而在譯文中進一步昇華甚至重構原文所塑造的形象。此外,形象也具有相對穩定性,一旦良好的形象在讀者心中初步行成,將在有助於後續形象的塑造。

例 4　從屈原「長太息以掩涕兮,哀民生之多艱」的感慨,到杜甫「安得廣廈千萬間,大庇天下寒士俱歡顏」的憧憬,再到孫中山「家給人足,四海之內無一夫不獲其所」的夙願,都反映了中華民族對擺脫貧困、豐衣足食的深深渴望。

A deep longing to see the people free of poverty and well fed and clothed has. been expressed by great historical figures, from Qu Yuan, a poet and politician of the Warring States period, who lamented, "Long did I sign to hold back tears; saddened I am by the grief of my people, " to Du Fu, another poet of the Tang dynasty, who wrote forlornly, "If only I could build a house with millions upon millions of rooms, I would bring all the poor people of the earth under its roof and bring smiles to their faces, " to Sun Yat-sen, who yearned to see "every family living in plenty, with not a single person left behind. "

「形象在一種文化中具有相對的固定性,是一個群體基於經驗和感知對事物長期得出的結論」(鄭洵,2021)。中國一直是以人為本、以人民為中心的大國,從古至今,中國人一直心懷天下,以天下人之憂而憂,以天下人之樂而樂。在例 4 中,對於孫中山、杜甫、屈原等歷史名人,倘若直接譯入英文而不加以潤色,目標語受眾便無法感知到與原文受眾相一致的中國形象。因此,如何將中國的形象優勢有效傳遞到英文語境中,是譯者需要解決的問題。

在例 4 中,針對譯語受眾背景知識的缺失,譯者採用了在句子層面對原文進行潤色的翻譯方法,增添了屈原、杜甫等人的背景知識,展現出中國「以人為本」這一思想的悠久歷史,今天的中國政府依然時刻為人民謀福利,傳遞了中國「歷來以人為本、以人民為重」的良好形象。

(三)語篇層面:邏輯梳理

中文句子通常較散,句與句之間往往省略連接詞。此外,中文重意合,句與句之間的邏輯關係通常需要聯繫上下文後方能加以判斷。而英語恰好相反,英語是典型的寫實語言,句與句之間的邏輯關係由邏輯詞體現。因此,在漢語原文的語段、語篇翻譯過程中,貿然直譯可能會在目標語讀者的心中構建出與原文完全不符的「他者形象」,極不利於中國的國際形象。

例 5　110 多萬貧困群眾當上護林員,守護綠水青山,換來了金山銀山。

More than 1.1 million impoverished people have become forest wardens, earning compensation for protecting the environment.

此句後半部分的修辭顯然是用了對仗的手法,體現了漢語恢弘、寫意的特點,原文讀起來朗朗上口,富有音韻美。從形象學的角度對原文進行考察可以發現,原文兼具音韻美與畫面美,間接塑造了中國在脫貧

減貧過程中以人為本、減貧同時不忘保護生態的積極形象。漢語的每個形象符號都扮演著不可或缺的作用,直接譯入英語勢必會因形象符號缺失而造成邏輯不通,造成形象的不對等。

「形象絕非生硬的複製品,在不同文化中往往同一物品具有不同所指,因此在譯入語文本中重塑形象有必要依照譯入語的寫作模式和程式進行邏輯重組」(鄭洵,2021)。想要準確、有效地將原文中所塑造的形象傳遞到目標語中,需要對語篇進行全面考察,結合上下文,簡明扼要地抓住原文邏輯。

在原文中,原作者前後都在談中國味了帶領貧困地區人民脫貧,不僅為他們提供經濟援助、補貼,更「授人以漁」,為貧困地區人民提供工作,讓他們能夠從真正意義上擺脫貧困。漢語原文句與句之間邏輯關係並不明顯,「綠水青山」如何為人民帶來「金山銀山」? 這一問題在英文譯文中得到了解決。從英文譯文中可以看出,譯文充分消化了原文邏輯,簡明扼要地抓住了原文的主要內容,對「綠水青山」、「金山銀山」兩個富有中國特色的意象進行消解,省略了漢語特有的對仗表達,轉而採用 forest wardens 構建全新修辭意象,向英語受眾傳遞「中國減貧同時不忘保護環境」的形象。

「金山銀山」在譯文中則由「earning compensation」所代替,這樣的表達擯棄了原文較為隱晦的意象,是的譯文更通透、明朗,更容易被英文受眾所接受。倘若直接譯為「mountains of silver and gold」則會過於膚淺,很可能會給營造出過於俗氣的形象,且這種譯法與上下文脫節,有損譯文的連貫性。譯者的處理方式則是以目標語受眾為導向,順應目標語語境,對原文內容進行適度改寫、刪減,有效傳遞了原文所塑造的中國良好形象。譯者在語篇層面通過上下文邏輯梳理的翻譯方法,在譯文中理清句與句之間的邏輯,有效在譯文中建構了原文中所塑造的積極國家形象。

五、結語

本文從從形象學視角出發,探討外宣翻譯策略在國家形象塑造中的重要作用。研究顯示,中央文獻譯者通過字詞層面的明示內涵、句子層面的改寫潤色、語篇層面的邏輯梳理等翻譯策略,間接幫助構建中國在國際舞臺上的良好形象。而譯者這種時刻具備形象學意識的外宣翻譯策略也的確在中國形象的國際傳播中貢獻了力量:根據筆者在外網相關社交平臺、相關網頁的檢索(以「poverty alleviation,China,Chinese people,image」等作為檢索關鍵字)發現(截至 2021 年 12 月 30 日),在習近平主席在脫貧攻堅總結大會上的講話雙語版發佈後,多數外媒及網友對中國在脫貧攻堅戰中取得的成就表示認可及讚歎,並在外國讀者中樹立了較為積極的中國國際形象,如部分網友認為中國的脫貧較有針對性(a well-targeted poverty alleviation)、人民脫貧意識積極主動(Chinese people welcome policies about … poverty alleviation)等。由此可見,形象學視域下的外宣翻譯策略的確從一定程度上為我國積極國家形象的傳播做出了貢獻。

習近平總書記曾提出「要向世界講好中國故事」、「打造融通中外的新概念、新範疇、新表述」。當今世界話語權競爭日益激烈,掌握國際舞臺的發言權就意味著掌握了在國際舞臺上塑造良好國家形象的抓手。向世界展示真實、立體、全面的中國、向世界證明中國的脫貧經驗值得借鑒,都需要外宣翻譯工作者順應譯語受眾的認知模式、文化背景,增強譯文對譯語受眾的感染力,架起不同文化間溝通的橋樑,進而塑造積極良好的中國大國形象。

注釋

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(Editors: LIU Min & JIANG Qing)

On the Translation of Chinese Diplomatic Discourse from the Perspective of Multi-Modal Discourse:
Take the China-US high-Level Strategic Dialogue as an Example

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Abstract: Translation is not only a task but also a tool in the international political competition. It's urgent for us to strengthen and improve our work in international communication to demonstrate a real, three-dimensional and comprehensive China, in which the English translation of diplomatic discourse also matters. This study finds that the English translation of Chinese diplomatic discourse is mainly in the form of symbols, and little attention is given to pictures, images, audio and other multi-modal forms. The latter, however, is often more intuitive and vivid, which can enhance the communication effect from the perspective of multi-angle and three-dimension, increasing audience coverage. From the perspective of multi-modal discourse analysis, this paper focuses on the China-US Alaska high-level strategic dialogue in the following two aspects, i.e., verbal modal and non-verbal modal discourse analysis, in hope of shedding some light on the English translation of Chinese diplomatic discourse.

Keywords: English translations of Chinese diplomatic discourse; diplomatic discourse; multi-modal perspective; China-US high-Level Strategic Dialogue

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多模態話語視角下中國外交話語翻譯管窺
——以中美阿拉斯加高層戰略對話為例

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摘　要：翻譯工作在外交領域既是一項政治任務，也是國際政治鬥爭的工具。加強和改進國際傳播工作，展示真實立體全面的中國，刻不容緩。其中外交話語的對外翻譯傳播對於展示真實立體全面的中國更是必不可少。本研究發現中國外交話語的對外傳播主要是以符號形式的文字介質為主，較少關註圖片，影像，音頻等多模態形式，而後者往往更為直觀、生動，能夠多角度、立體式地增強傳播效果，擴大受眾覆蓋面。本文選擇多模態話語分析理論為視角，聚焦中美阿拉斯加高層戰略對話，從語言模態話語分析和非語言模態話語分析兩個層面加以考察，以期為中國外交話語翻譯提供一點借鑒。

關鍵詞：中國外交話語英譯；多模態視角；中美高層戰略對話

引言

2021 年 3 月 18 日在美國安克雷奇舉行的中美阿拉斯加「2+2」對話很可能被載入史冊，在中美關系處於十字路口的重要關頭，恰逢其時。此次戰略對話是中美最近幾十年前所未有公開面對面的交鋒，在這次對話中，雙方都亮明了態度，把兩國的主要矛盾都攤開了，使得雙方增進相互了解，避免彼此戰略誤判。與此同時，世界在解讀對話傳出的信息，也在觀察中美關系未來的走向。在外交領域，翻譯工作與政治之間有著千絲萬縷的聯系，意義重大，外交話語的翻譯更是如此。本文將聚焦中美阿拉斯加高層戰略對話，將其置於多模態話語分析的視角下來進行管窺，從語言模態話語分析和非語言模態話語分析兩個層面加以考察，為中國外交話語翻譯提供借鑒。

一、多模態話語分析理論

多模態話語指運用聽覺、視覺、觸覺等多種感覺，通過語言、圖像、聲音、動作等多種手段和符號資源進行交際的現象（張德祿，2009）。多模態話語指同時使用兩種或兩種以上模態的話語（Kress & Van Leeuwen，1996：183；朱永生，2007）。多模態話語是在批評話語分析的基礎上發展起來的，它結合了社會符號學和話語分析，因而也被稱為批評性符號學（critical social semiotics）（鄭海翠、張邁曾，2008：110）。

多模態話語理論上的出發點是韓禮德（1978）語言是社會符號的思想。韓禮德（1985，1994）元功能理論認為不管是口頭語篇還是書面語篇，在表達思想的過程中總是同時完成三個元功能，即概念功能（ideational function）、人際功能（interpersonal function）和語篇功能（textual function）。意義不僅通過語言還通過其他很

多模態表達,包括圖像、手勢、姿勢、目光、顏色等等,這些模態不僅是話語的體現,而且在具體情況下與與話語具有同等的意義構建潛能(Borodo,2015)。在多模態話語中,不同模態互相交織,共同構建意義(Braun,2011;Ketola,2016)。

多模態話語分析指在進行話語分析時,不僅關註語言模態,還要關註聲音、圖像、動作、表情等多種非語言模態。多模態話語分析接受了系統功能語言學關於語言是社會符號的意義潛勢的觀點,認為非語言符號也是意義的源泉(朱永生,2007)。多模態話語分析的蓬勃發展以《閱讀圖像——視覺設計語法》(Van Leeuven & Kress,1996)的標誌。多模態話語分析理論發展了話語分析理論,拓寬了研究視角,使話語分析更加客觀、全面、可信。多模態話語分析理論自 20 世紀 90 年代在西方興起以來,相關研究開展得如火如荼。國內外多模態話語分析的代表學者有 Kress & Van Leeuwen(1996,2001);Van Leeuwen & Jewitt(2001);Kress (2009);李戰子(2003);朱永生(2007);胡壯麟(2007);張德祿(2009)等。多模態話語理論以韓禮德(1985/ 1994)功能語法為基礎,把語言作為社會符號所具有的三大元功能延伸到除語言之外的圖像、音樂、顏色、印刷版式等其他符號(Hodge & Kress,1988;Kress & Van Leeuwen,1996/2006;Van Leeuwen,1999;Kress & Van Leeuwen,2002;Van Leeuwen,2006;Baldry & Thibault,2006),並把這些符號看作是各自獨立、而又互相作用的符號資源,在分析語言特徵的同時,強調圖像、聲音、顏色和印刷版式等視覺、聽覺和行為方面符號模態在話語中的作用。疫情當下,多模態話語分析也在發揮其作用。鄧誼、馮德正(2021)結合多模態話語分析構建了多維度框架,對新冠疫情期間企業微信推文的話語類型、語步、交際目的和多模態符號資源進行質性和量化分析,有助於我國企業在社會主義建設新時代提高溝通水平、履行社會責任提供啟示。

二、語言模態話語分析

在此次中美高層阿拉斯加戰略對話中的主要人員有中共中央政治局委員、中央外事辦公室主任楊潔篪、國務委員兼外長王毅以及美國國務卿布林肯、總統國家安全事物助理沙利文。除此之外還有中方翻譯張京,以及美方翻譯鐘嵐(Lam Chung-Pollpeter)。隨著信息技術的不斷發展,其他技術開始用於語言信息的傳播,但從傳統的語言學研究的角度講,實現意義傳播的媒體形式主要有兩種:聲波傳導的聲音符號和由筆等生成的書寫符號。這兩種媒體是語言傳播信息的主要媒介(張德祿,2009)。鑒於外交話語的政治敏感性極強,對其翻譯應堅持「政治等效」標準。其內涵是:外交翻譯一方面準確、忠實反映源語和說話者的政治思想和政治語境,另一方面要用接受方所能理解的譯語來表達,使雙方的政治含義信息等值,使譯文能起到與原文相同或相似的交際功能;同時從政治性、動態性和平衡性三個維度對外交翻譯原則提出具體要求。(楊明星,2008)。因此,進行多模態話語分析時,文本主體或者是言語元素是我們需要註意到的,如譯文選詞、用詞等。

例 1

楊潔篪:我現在講一句,美國沒有資格在中國面前說,你們從實力的地位出發同中國談話。

張京譯:So let me say here that, in front of the Chinese side, the United States does not have the qualification to say that it wants to speak to China from a position of strength.

這句話無疑是楊主任對美國國務卿布林肯此前言論的一個「以牙還牙」。3 月初,布林肯曾有言:We need to be approaching China from a position of strength。鐘嵐將這句話翻譯成:我們需要從實力的地位上出發和中國交流。這樣一聽,讓人感覺美方十分咄咄逼人。筆者非常贊同楊主任關於中美應該平等相待的觀點和發言。但是如果從純語言模態角度來看,「from a position of strength」並不能將其簡單直譯成「從實力的地位出發」。根據 Merriam Webster,該短語的意思是:a position that gives an advantage,也就是「有優勢的位

置」。筆者認為布林肯想要表達的是:美國在與中國相處的過程中要揚長避短,采取的方式要有利於本國自身發展。筆者認為張京的譯文與楊主任想要表達的意思與傳達的態度高度一致。

例 2

楊潔篪:二十年、三十年前你們就沒有這個地位講這個話, 因為中國人是不吃這一套的。

張京譯:Now the US side was not even qualified to say such things even 20 years or 30 years back, because this is not the way to deal with the Chinese people.

這句話是中共中央政治局委員、中央外事工作委員會辦公室主任楊潔篪對美國國務卿布林肯的回應。由於美方翻譯的失誤,令雙方產生了誤解,現場火藥味十足。「不吃這一套」等屬於中文當中的習慣用語、俗語、成語範疇,意思是「不買賬、不接受」,語言生動形象。將其泛化成「this is not the way to deal with the Chinese people」(即:「這不是與中國打交道的方法」),意思雖與中文基本相符,但語氣比較緩和,無法表達出楊主任當時義憤填膺的感情。筆者發現譚載喜教授對此進行了重譯,將其處理為:「... because the Chinese people just don't buy it!」通過查證,筆者發現英美國家的人口語中想要表達「信以為真,多數會用」「buy it」表示,比如「I don't buy it」的意思其實是「我才不相信呢,我不吃那一套! 所以筆者認為譚譯更生動形象,且更加符合英語國家人的說話方式,在語氣上也更能保持與原文一樣的較高強度。

例 3

王毅:……我認為這不是正常的待客之道。但如果美方試圖以此舉來所謂增強你們對華的優勢的話,我想恐怕也是打錯了算盤……。

張京譯:... This is not supposed to be the way one should welcome his guests. And we wonder if this is a decision made by the United States to try to gain some advantage in dealing with China, but certainly this is miscalculated...

楊潔篪第一次發表完講話之後,緊接著發言的國務委員兼外長王毅當即接過話頭,對美方進行駁斥。「我想恐怕也是」的語氣軟中帶硬,綿裏藏針,作為一句話的開頭起到軟化語氣的效果。如果用「but certainly this is miscalculated」(「但這肯定是……」)則可能過於肯定與強硬,不符合外交禮儀,不利於談話目的的達成。因此筆者認為如果將其處理為「I'm afraid...」則可能更為符合說話人想表達的語氣,更能準確傳播原文的文化政治涵義。

例 4

王毅:這也是中美兩國可以相向而行的交匯點。

張京譯:It is also a place that China and the United States can meet each other halfway.

中方代表團應美方邀請來到中美兩國航線的中點——安克雷奇,王外長借此也表達了中方的態度立場。「相向而行」是一個漢語詞匯,意思是:朝對方的方向行進,即面對面行進。如果采用釋義,就無法言簡意賅。「相向而行」筆者認為意思就是「半路相見」。這裏中方譯員得「意」忘「形」,以一種直接的方式準確傳達出源語意思,且字數還是對等,符合外國人「開門見山」的思維方式,有利於信息的傳播。

例 5

王毅:美國人的這個老毛病要改一改了!

張京譯:This has been a long-standing issue and it should be changed.

「老毛病」是中國人常用的俗文俚語中的一種,用以形容 1. 經常犯的病;2. 經常出現的缺點。這裏無疑是第二種意思,指的是美方肆意干涉中國內政的霸權主義做法,算是一種「重大的議題」。如果將其處理為「disease」就望文生義,與說話人想要表達的意思大相徑庭。如果處理為「shortcoming」等詞,語則無法體現出問題的嚴重性而且也不夠正式。根據 Merriam Webster, issue 意指 something that people are talking about,

thinking about，etc.：an important subject or topic。故中國譯員將其處理為「a long-standing issue」很好的傳達了說話人的意思，有效促進中國外交思想的傳播。

目前中國外交話語對外翻譯傳播主要依賴符號形式中的文字介質，雖然方式過於單一，有待拓寬，但是符號形式中的文字介質的力量也不容小覷，應該予以重視。張京的從容應對，已顯示出其高超的翻譯能力以及過硬的心理素質，縱使在一些專家學者們看來現場的譯文仍有完善的余地，但瑕不掩瑜。專家學者們其實更多的是站在一個事後學術層面來進行的一個探討，以期給學習者啟發。二者並行不悖。

三、非语言模态话语分析

隨著社會的發展和科技的進步，特別是隨著數字、網絡和多媒體技術的廣泛使用，多模態交流已經成為社會交流的主流，視覺符號以及其他傳統習慣中被人們認為是副語言的圖像、音樂、顏色等符號，越來越多地處於突出、甚至優勢和中心地位（韋琴紅，2009）。這些符號不再僅僅是一種交流的形式，而是一種表達意義的非語言模態手段。因此，進行多模態話語分析時，雖然語言仍是分析的重要內容，但應放在一個更大的多模態語境中進行，並考慮語言與多模態語境的關系（Jewitt，2009：2）。

圖 1

圖 2

來源：Microsoft Bing

我們需要關註超文本或者副文本等非語言模態元素,包括翻譯傳播行為人的衣著打扮、行為舉止說話的語音、語氣、腔調等。服飾是各國歷史與文化發展的積澱,表現了不同國家的文化傳統,國際政治中的服飾符號通過彰顯民族文化特色、傳達國家外交理念、表征歷史文化交融、暗示國家政治背景等方面對國家形象進行建構,除此之外其還具有鮮明的文化傳播效應(王瀅,2015)。在這樣一個嚴肅的外交場合,譯員本身的衣著打扮、行為舉止,說話的語音、語氣、腔調等非語言模態元素,代表的就不僅僅是個人,而是國家的外交形象,目的不是嘩眾取寵,也不能喧賓奪主,所以需要符合一定的外交禮儀,外交規範。在此次高層對話中,中方派出的是現任外交部翻譯司高級翻譯張京,美方派出的是曾經特朗普執政時期的禦用翻譯鐘嵐(Lam Chung-Pollpeter)。「欲猜虞之類泯,必形跡之渾忘,⋯⋯若服色顯有異同,斯舉動每多地格」,容易引起他人的側目歧視,「明示以族類之殊」。這樣「安能通彼悃忱,相洽於意言之表?情以睽而難合,勢以孤而罕儔,其不便於交際,關系尤巨」(王開璽,2001)。在中美阿拉斯加高層戰略對話中,美方翻譯人員「染紫頭髮」,身著異裝,與該環境相比顯得格格不入,與其余身著黑色西裝的與會者相比,顯得不莊重、不專業、不得體(如圖 1 所示)。除此之外,在官方發布的長達 1 小時 6 分 34 秒的會談視頻中,鐘嵐分別於 20 秒時將秩(zhi)序,誤讀成秩(chi)序,53 分 29 秒對於楊潔篪的稱謂「楊主任」有明顯遲疑,53 分 37 秒直接稱呼美國國家安全事務助理沙利文為「沙利文官」並且整個翻譯有很多語氣詞、口頭禪。會後,鐘嵐不僅遭到美國媒體的批評,其翻譯能力也備受外界質疑。事實上,鐘嵐畢業於號稱翻譯界「哈佛大學」的明德大學蒙特雷國際研究學院,被認為是三位美國頂級中文翻譯官中水平最高的。資料顯示,她於 2017 年成為美國國務院正式員工,還是特朗普執政時期的「總統禦用翻譯」,曾多次參與中美領導人會談。對於許多人心中「為何美方翻譯水平如此之糟糕」的疑問,一些業內權威人士也作了分析:其實水平並不差,但發揮是真失常。此次高層戰略對話的目的就是為了中美兩國能夠在戰略和政治層面進行深入溝通,增進互信,和平共處。美方譯員的儀表無疑不利於對話的順利進行,而且該美方譯員的翻譯能力也備受質疑,通過比較美國國務卿布林肯發言原文和翻譯員譯文後發現,該翻譯員的譯文大有「火上澆油」、「夾帶私貨」的意味,從說話的語氣、腔調到語句措辭,對比布林肯的原文更生硬,而且更顯居高臨下,更具有攻擊性。相比之下,中美高層戰略對話的現場交鋒中,中方譯員張京儀表莊重、大方、得體(如圖 2 所示)。說話語氣、腔調、遣詞造句,總體而言均十分得體到位,與原文保持了一致,有效達到了忠實翻譯傳播原文行為者原意義的目的。會上,張京曾就中方發言人的 16 分鐘發言進行翻譯,她臨危不亂,以大氣沈穩的翻譯風格以及準確完整的內容表達,充分展現出我國的外交風采。其還在和楊潔篪以及布林肯的一番互動中不經意間緩和了現場緊張氣氛。其大方得體的儀表,出色的翻譯能力及現場輕鬆表現,皆稱得上中國外交話語翻譯傳播的優秀範例。

結語

隨著中國的崛起,世界渴望聽到中國的聲音,中國也迫切想要讓世界更加了解中國,因此翻譯任重道遠。翻譯本身是一項有目的的行為,涉及不同文化和社會政治信息的交流,不是一個單純的語言活動過程,其產生於特定文化政治語境,受製於該文化政治並為其服務。在不同國家的人之間,翻譯起到媒介,橋梁的作用,讓人們能夠互相溝通,減少誤解,增進互信,意義重大。外交話語的翻譯更是如此。輿論是靠爭取認同來取得力量的,只有爭取認同,才能推動關註的聚集。那種以勢壓人的強勢傳播得不到認同,所以沒有輿論力量(鄒振東,2021:45)。一個合格的譯員除了需要對自己所翻譯的每一句話高度負責外,本身的衣著打扮、行為舉止,說話的語音、語氣、腔調等非語言模態方面也要重視,更何況是在這樣一個嚴肅的外交場合,譯員們所代表的早就不僅僅只是個人,而是一個國家的外交形象,所以需要有紮實的翻譯能力,以及符合一定的外交禮儀,外交規範。話語傳播形式包括物質形式和符號形式(胡開寶、張晨夏,2021)。目前中國外交

話語對外翻譯傳播主要依賴符號形式中的文字介質,固在符號形式上,我們可以利用各類新聞媒體傳播介質,加強音頻、圖片和影像等多模態符號形式傳播(同上)。本研究所采取的分析視角,對中國外交話語對外翻譯傳播有借鑒意義。但由於主客觀原因,本研究不足之處,還望斧正。

注釋

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(Editors: LI Ruobing & Cherry LU)

Research on Translations of Witter Bynner and Xu Yuanchong:

A Case Study of English Versions of *The Everlasting Regret*

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Abstract: *The Everlasting Regret* is a long narrative poem recording the love story of a Chinese emperor and his lover in Tang dynasty, which is famous for its allusions, rhythmic lines and melting plots of the story. Translators from home and abroad have translated this poem and presented the style in various versions. In this article, versions of Xu Yuanzhong and Witter Bynner will be analyzed in order to compare the two translators' style in translating. In this article, differences in the translation of the title and the general feature of the two versions are mentioned. Differences of translators' understanding and expression of images in the poem are compared and explained as well. That's how translators' features in translating can possibly be summarized.

Key words: *The Everlasting Regret*; Xu Yuanzhong; Witter Bynner

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威特・賓納和許淵沖的譯文對比研究
——以《長恨歌》的譯本為例

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摘　要:《長恨歌》是我國詩人白居易所著的著名長篇敘事詩,全詩敘述了唐玄宗和楊貴妃以悲劇收尾的愛情故事,

借用了歷史人物和傳說,讀來迴旋婉轉,感染了千百年來的萬千讀者。該詩曾被來自中外不同的譯者翻譯過,譯本也各有特色。本文主要選取了威特· 賓納(Witter Bynner)和許淵沖兩位翻譯家的譯本,意在對比中外這兩位譯者對詩文翻譯的處理方法。兩位譯者對《長恨歌》理解和處理方法的不同使得兩種譯本各有特色。本文對比了兩位譯者的譯文中對於題目和全詩的處理的不同,同時對於詩中內涵豐富的意象的處理也有所分析對比。通過對譯文差異的探討,我們也可以分析出兩位譯者的譯文風格和各自的特點。

關鍵詞:長恨歌;許淵沖;威特·賓納

引言

《長恨歌》作為我國著名的長篇敘事詩在講述唐玄宗和楊貴妃的愛情故事的同時也融入了詩人白居易自身的情感。詩人在創作時借用了歷史典故和傳說,同時也在敘事時運用了大量的文化意象。這樣的創作手法使全詩讀起來朗朗上口卻又婉轉悠長,同時也為該詩的翻譯帶來了不小的挑戰。對於這些文化意象的翻譯,威特·賓納和許淵沖採用了不同的翻譯技巧,而他們的譯文也體現出了他們對於這首詩理解的差異。

一、《長恨歌》的概況與背景

《長恨歌》是唐代詩人白居易于唐憲宗元和元年任盩厔縣尉時所著。一日,白居易與友人陳鴻、王質夫到馬嵬驛附近的仙遊寺遊覽,期間談及李隆基與楊貴妃的愛情故事。王質夫認為這類突出的故事如果不加以大手筆的潤色就會隨時間推移而被人遺忘,因而鼓勵白居易寫詩以歌,話「樂天深於詩,多於情者也,試為歌之,何如?」白居易於是寫下這首長詩。該詩最後兩句是「天長地久有時盡,此恨綿綿無絕期」,因而被叫做《長恨歌》,這就是這首詩的大致背景。

《長恨歌》記述了唐玄宗和楊貴妃的愛情故事,以及因為安史之亂二人被迫陰陽殊途的悲劇結尾。早期唐玄宗勵精圖治,唐朝國力達到鼎盛,人口大幅增長,城市繁華,交通發達形成了「三年一上計,萬國趨河洛」的盛世景況,同時經濟空前繁榮,商業發達,交通便利,從詩句「憶昔開元全盛日,小邑猶藏萬家室」即可看出當年的富裕景象,這也就是人們熟知的開元盛世。然而之後地方藩鎮勢力崛起,唐玄宗本人統治失策聽信讒言,在各種因素的影響下,唐朝將領安祿山與史思明發動奪權之戰,史稱「安史之亂」。「安史之亂」是唐朝的轉捩點,唐玄宗逃離長安,後經歷馬嵬驛兵變,楊貴妃被縊死,此時「安史之亂」達到最高峰。

《長恨歌》不僅記述了盛世時楊貴妃的絕色美豔以及與唐玄宗的愛情纏綿,同時也描述了楊貴妃死後的孤枕難眠並渲染了仙境傳說的虛幻氛圍。可以說這是一首宏大而浪漫的敘事詩。在這首詩裡,白居易極力肯定和歌頌了李楊愛情,也表現出「他對唐玄宗、楊貴妃的冤死而無限悲痛和思念是十分理解和同情的」(王用中,1997:56)。所以這首詩抒發的不是單一的情感,而是多種情感的結合。

全詩可以分為三個部分,從開篇「漢皇重色思傾國」到「驚破霓裳羽衣曲」,詩人描繪了二人的愛情生活,暗示了荒政必然會導致國亂,為接下來從「九重城闕煙塵生」到「魂魄不曾來入夢」的詩句中楊貴妃在馬嵬驛被殺埋下伏筆。最後「臨邛道士鴻都客」至結尾「此恨綿綿無絕期」則描寫了楊貴妃死後道士幫唐玄宗到仙山尋人的場景。

全詩三部分運用了許多意象,有些需結合時代風氣,比如盛唐詩人喜歡以漢朝相比,於是「漢」、「唐」二字在詩句中經常互相出現或者替代,開篇首句「漢皇」既是例證。有些意象蘊含著誇張手法,或者多與數字結合,例如「百媚生」,「六宮」之類。還有一些意象與中國傳統文化典故等緊密相連,比如「霓裳羽衣曲」、

「長生殿」等。可以說《長恨歌》是一首意象雲集的敘事詩,這種意象眾多在給讀者無窮回味的同時也為翻譯工作帶來了許多困難。英譯本面向的讀者是以英語為母語或者熟悉英語的人群,而這些讀者大多生活的環境使其對於中國傳統文化、傳統文學手法都無法深入瞭解。所以可能在中國讀者看來,漢皇指代唐皇帝,六宮泛指帝王後宮這些文學常識不會對閱讀欣賞詩歌造成障礙,而讀到「回眸一笑百媚生」時「百媚生」這種誇張手法也能帶給讀者美的享受和想像空間。然而對於外國讀者而言,如何將這種古典文學背景、誇張的美和借代意象的隱約美傳遞給他們則是一個翻譯中的問題。如果不能處理好這種意象的翻譯問題,對於詩中的情節就很難去表達出來。

二、中外譯者及譯本簡介

本文所要對比的譯本分別來自許淵沖和威特·賓納(Witter Bynner)兩位譯者。這兩位譯者分別代表了中外兩種譯者譯本。

中國譯者許淵沖生於 1921 年 4 月,是北京大學教授,翻譯家。他從事文學翻譯長達六十餘年,譯作涵蓋中、英、法等語種,翻譯集中在中國古詩英譯,形成韻體譯詩的方法與理論,被譽為「詩譯英法唯一人」。許淵沖在國內外出版中英法文著譯六十本包括《詩經》《楚辭》《李白詩選》《西廂記》《紅與黑》《包法利夫人》《追憶似水年華》等中外名著。本文所選譯文則是來自其英譯的唐詩三百首。

威特·賓納(Witter Bynner)生於 1881 年 8 月 10 日,於 1968 年 6 月 1 日去世。他是美國詩人同時也是翻譯家,同時他也以筆名 Emanuel Morgan 著稱。賓納長期居住在新墨西哥州的聖達菲,並與其他文學人物保持著聯繫。賓納對於中國文學也有過研究。他曾於 1917 年去過日本、韓國和中國,之後返回加州大學伯克利分校教授英語詩歌。在伯克利,他與中文學者江亢虎(Kiang Kang-hu)一起研究唐代詩歌。1920 年 6 月至 1921 年 4 月,賓納住在中國專門研究中國文學和文化。1929 年賓納翻譯了唐詩三百首並收錄到 *The Jade Mountain: A Chinese Anthology* 當中,本詩的譯本即選自該選集。

兩位譯者有不同的側重及翻譯風格。許淵沖作為中國譯者,集中翻譯中國古詩,自成一套韻體譯詩的方法和理論。賓納作為美國譯者,更多是以外來者的身份去瞭解中國文學和文化,而且值得一提的是,賓納本人也是一個詩人。從二人的身份和經歷其實可以大致看出一些二人的翻譯特色。許淵沖作為中國翻譯家學者,在翻譯古詩時注重押韻,更多的是尾韻,而賓納可能更多以創作的視角來看待這個譯本的翻譯。

中國著名翻譯學家王宏印認為譯文的語言要素是構成文學翻譯批評標準的第一重要的問題。作為文學翻譯批評的基本要求,譯文語言應是地道的文學語言,而不是生硬的或生造的人工語言。但是,文學語言又要注意從日常生活語言中吸取鮮活的營養,並加以提純、提高和昇華(王宏印,2009:102)。因此只憑藉兩人的經歷和學術背景的不同來推斷二人的翻譯特色和側重點未免有些武斷和籠統。因此接下來還需要從兩位譯者的譯文中去發現用詞遣句、句式結構、文體形式等方面的特色。在接下來的幾部分,本文將按照之前劃分的結構來探討一些較為典型的意象和詩句的翻譯。同時對於詩歌題目的翻譯、整體譯文的形式也會有一些總結和歸納。在整個對比的過程中,一些譯者所採用的翻譯方法和策略也會有一些分析。

三、譯文全文概覽

兩種譯本的不同首先就體現在題目的翻譯上。詩歌題目「長恨歌」,上文已經提到是出自該詩結尾的詩句「天長地久有時盡,此恨綿綿無絕期」,詩題在這兩句中各取一字,「天長」的「長」與「此恨」的「恨」,合為「長恨」,而「歌」則代表了該詩的類別,表明該詩是為了記述某件事或者抒發某種情感而寫。許淵沖將題目

翻譯成「*The Everlasting Regret*」，而賓納翻譯成了「*A Song of Unending Sorrow*」。可以看出，許淵沖的譯文省略了「歌」的翻譯，而賓納則開篇就表明這首詩歌是一首「song」，是為了直截了當地闡明此譯文的類別，是「poetical composition」。接著關於「長恨」的翻譯，許淵沖翻譯成「the everlasting regret」，而賓納則譯為「unending sorrow」。由此可見二人對於「長恨」的理解有些不同。天長地久有時盡，是說即便天長地久，時間也會有盡頭，而此恨綿綿無絕期則說明這份「恨」卻沒有停止的那一天。「everlasting」和「unending」在韋氏詞典中一個意思是「continuing for a long time or indefinitely」，另一個是「never ending」，二者都是說這份「恨」會長時間留存，不會停下。因此這兩個詞雖有細微差別，但這種差別對於整個題目的翻譯不會有什麼影響。關鍵在於「恨」的翻譯，許淵沖認為這種恨是「regret」，是「sorrow aroused by circumstances beyond one's control or power to repair」，是因為某種自己無法改善的情況而產生的悲傷情緒，但賓納認為這種恨是「sorrow」，是「deep distress, sadness, or regret especially for the loss of someone or something loved」，是因失去某人或者某物而產生的悲傷的情緒。由此可以看出，二者都認為這種「恨」是一種悲傷，一種遺憾，但許淵沖認為這種感情是因為唐玄宗眼看自己的愛人逝去而無能為力，而賓納則認為這種「恨」是因為唐玄宗痛失愛人。在這一層面上，許淵沖的譯文顯然意境要更深遠一些，不僅說明陰陽相隔的痛，也暗含了無能為力的「恨」。

關於整體譯文，兩位譯者的譯文長短相近，而每句長短也類似，並無太大分別。而關於押韻方面，可以很明顯地看出許淵沖的譯文押了尾韻，而且是每兩行一個韻，均在每行最後一個單詞體現押韻。包括《長恨歌》在內幾乎絕大部分中國古代詩歌都傾向於在句末押韻，因此許淵沖的譯文讀起來可能更有中國古詩的感覺，也符合其韻體譯詩的風格。而賓納的譯作無明顯的尾韻頭韻，更偏向於以散文詩的風格去翻譯。值得強調的是，兩位譯者的共同之處就在於他們的譯作都是以詩歌的形式呈現，而兩人的以詩譯詩的區別僅在於韻的不同。值得一提的是，《長恨歌》是白居易的著名之作，對仗工整，排列整齊，「在英語中如果同樣採用詩體進行翻譯，難度極大，因此使用詩體翻譯的譯者比較少。許淵沖也指出能傳達原詩歌「音美」的韻體譯文自然勝過散體譯文。如果韻體的「音美」不如散體，那就是在主要方面有遜色，應該取散體之長，補韻體之短，才可能成為更好的譯文」（張占軍，2019：33）。

四、部分意象翻譯的對比分析

這一部分將著重對比一些典型的意象和詩句的翻譯。對於意象的處理是翻譯中國古典文學的一大關鍵要素。很多唐詩宋詞裡面都有很豐富的意象用來抒情言志，這些意象往往與中國傳統文化緊密相連，而這也就是翻譯中國古代詩歌的一大難點。通過對比這些意象的翻譯，譯者的傾向和風格特點就可以表現出來了。

《長恨歌》前兩句「漢皇重色思傾國，禦宇多年求不得」中裡面「漢皇」前文有所提及。因盛唐文人的習慣和避諱原因，作品裡經常以漢代唐，因此這裡的「漢皇」指代唐朝皇帝也就是李隆基。這裡許淵沖將「漢皇」只翻譯成「monarch」，賓納翻譯成「China's Emperor」，可以看出兩種譯文其實對於「漢」都是回避了，這種回避可以說在某種程度上達到了交際翻譯的目的。交際翻譯「注重目標語讀者的理解和反應，即信息傳遞的效果」（方懿文，2017：88）。因此如果譯作主題是皇帝與貴妃的愛情悲劇，對於外國讀者而言是漢朝還是唐朝並不影響主題。之後的「回眸一笑百媚生，六宮粉黛無顏色」這兩句寫貴妃的回眸一笑便讓六宮黯然失色，這種對比「雖沒有對五官的正面描述，可貴妃那壓倒群芳、絕世超群的美人形象卻仿佛從詩中走了出來，躍然紙上」（牟春娜，2020：43）。「六宮」可以說是一個典型的蘊含數字的文化意象。在這裡許淵沖翻譯為「full of grace」和「six palaces」，而賓納翻譯為「a hundred spells」和「Six Palaces」，對於六宮這一意象，二人都選擇了直譯為「six palaces」，因為「palace」意為宮殿，在中英語境下都是指皇家生活的場所，因此不會造成歧

義。但值得注意的是許淵沖的譯文首字母沒有小寫,而賓納譯文將其視作特殊名詞。「六宮」一詞並非泛指,而是早在《周禮》當中有所記載為確數,以六宮對應天子六官,因此這裡直譯數字是沒有問題的,而且「六宮」一詞後來又用作代指皇后與嬪妃,所以說它是專有名詞還是一般名詞都可以說得通。在詩句中,「六宮」指代宮中的嬪妃,賓納將其視作專有名詞更為妥當,雖然二者直譯必定會造成一定的文化障礙,但是大寫首字母視為專有名詞可以減少一些理解障礙。

在詩歌的第二部分首句「漁陽鼙鼓動地來,驚破霓裳羽衣曲」中詩人借「漁陽鼙鼓」暗示了安祿山叛亂,此處許淵沖譯作「rebels beat their war drums」,譯文裡「漁陽」二字沒有出現,「如能指明這是安祿山造反,讀者也許容易理解一些」。(許淵沖,1984:53)可能是為了起到解釋說明的作用,許淵沖的譯文直接以「rebel」來解釋鼙鼓,這樣也能起到一些幫助理解的作用。而賓納的譯文「war drums booming from Yu yang」點名了漁陽地名,但不加以解釋安祿山叛亂的話很容易讓人誤以為是在該地發生的戰事,有可能是對外戰爭,也可能是叛亂,這樣就會使讀者混淆。

有的時候為了使讀者更準確地理解意象,需要運用一些歸化或者異化的翻譯策略,《長恨歌》中有一句,「梨園弟子白髮新,椒房阿監青娥老。」這句話裡「梨園弟子」的意思是戲曲演員,這個意象可以說是典型的內涵中國文化傳統的一個。許淵沖將這個詞翻譯為「Actors」,而賓納則譯成了「Pear-Garden Players」。從這個詞的翻譯可以明顯看出兩個人的翻譯策略的不同。許淵沖作為中國譯者,對於「梨園子弟」這一表達肯定深諳於心,因此在翻譯的時候不需要過多去想怎麼翻譯「梨園」,因為「梨園」對於「梨園子弟」的翻譯影響並不很大,甚至不翻譯「梨園」也無所謂,因為「對譯語讀者來說他們或許不知道「梨園」在中國是戲院的意思,「梨園弟子」就是戲曲演員。在不影響詩歌原意的前提下簡化翻譯為「actor」對他們來說更容易理解且不會造成閱讀受阻」。(耿玉聰,2017:82)但賓納則直譯為「Pear-Garden」,緊接著將「子弟」翻譯成「players」。「player」這個詞可以等同於「actor」,這兩個詞都可以指演藝人員,此處可見兩位譯者都在減輕讀者閱讀障礙上下功夫,只不過賓納更傾向忠於原文罷了。

全詩結尾「在天願作比翼鳥,在地願為連理枝」可謂是歌頌堅貞不渝愛情的經典。許淵沖對於這句話的翻譯是「On high, we'd be two birds flying wing to wing; On earth, two trees with branches twined from spring to spring」,而賓納翻譯的是「That we wished to fly in heaven two birds with the wings of one And to grow together on the earth two branches of one tree」。可以看出賓納的翻譯是忠於詩句原文,基本採用了直譯的手法。許淵沖同樣也基本遵循了「忠實」的原則,而且還巧妙地將頭韻和尾韻融合在一句裡。值得注意的是在許淵沖的譯文中「wing to wing」在原文中對應「比翼鳥」,而「from spring to spring」在原文中並無直接對應,這可以說是在翻譯時添加了自己創作的成分。然而就是這種創作,在格律上不僅和「wing to wing」相照應,使譯文對仗工整,同時暗示冬去春來,年復一年,連理枝今生今世永不分離的深層含義。這種創作「不但在意義上對李、楊二人生生世世相愛到底的詩意有所加強和補充,在詩句形式上也和上句「wing to wing」構成形式對應,在聲韻和視覺效果上產生比原文更出彩的審美體驗」(黨爭勝,2008:86)。

五、結語

《長恨歌》作為我國古代著名的長篇敘事詩,不僅歌頌了唐玄宗和楊貴妃的愛情,也對其悲劇結尾表達了惋惜與無奈。在形式上該詩韻律多樣,讀起來充滿節奏感,符合「歌」的體裁。在內容上全詩充滿了各種意象,這些意象與中國傳統文化緊密相連,幫助抒發情感的同時也對翻譯帶來了不小的困難。如何準確傳達意象的含義就成了能否成功翻譯該詩的關鍵之一。

本文選擇了許淵沖和賓納的譯文。這兩位譯者一位擅長韻體譯詩,一位本身也是著名詩人,一位擅長

押韻,一位偏愛散體。有人歸納這兩位譯者譯文的特點,「許譯本傾向於意譯,表達簡潔,可讀性強,意象表達貼切;賓譯本傾向於直譯,語法完整,但難度較大,意象描述更傾向于英語文化習慣」(范燕,2015:64)。本文對比了幾處詩句中典型意象的翻譯,發現許淵沖作為中國譯者,在翻譯一些具有中國特色文化背景的意象時偏向歸化和簡化的策略,省略一些不太重要的因素,直截了當地將意象的本質翻譯出來,這樣的翻譯簡介明瞭,同時許淵沖還在一些詩句的翻譯裡添加了創作的元素,使譯文對仗工整,也將原文蘊含的深層含義直接表達出來。而賓納在翻譯的時候偏向于直譯,翻譯一些意象的時候在點明其本質的同時也要將其他元素儘量逐字逐句翻譯出來。因此許淵沖的譯文給人的感覺像是在以詩譯詩,將詩歌翻譯成詩歌,而賓納的譯文則是盡可能將中國古詩的詩意美闡述給譯文讀者。兩位翻譯家的譯文都有其各自的特點,同時也表現出二人對於《長恨歌》的翻譯切入點有所不同。而這種差異性也在某種程度上為我們對比中外譯者研究中國古詩詞的視角之差提供了借鑒。

注釋

① 黨爭勝:《「三化」並舉譯「長恨」,「三美」齊備詩如「歌」——許淵沖英譯〈長恨歌〉賞評》,《外語教學》2008 年第 1 期,頁 83–87。

② 范燕:《風格理論視角下詩歌譯者風格對比研究——以白居易〈長恨歌〉為例》,《西昌學院學報(社會科學版)》2015 年第 4 期,頁 62–65。

③ 方懿文:《語義翻譯和交際翻譯在唐詩英譯詞彙層面的應用——以許淵沖的〈長恨歌〉英譯本為例》,《現代交際》2017 年第 16 期,頁 88–89。

④ 耿玉聰:《古詩英譯中歸化和異化傾向與文化傳播——以〈長恨歌〉英譯本為例》,《教育教學論壇》2017 年第 27 期,頁 82–83。

⑤ 牟春娜:《有畫難描雅態,無花可比芳容——以〈長恨歌〉為例窺古詩詞寫美人之筆法》,《新閱讀》2020 年第 12 期,頁 43–44。

⑥ 王宏印:《文學翻譯批評概論:從文學批評到翻譯教學》,中國人民大學出版社 2009 年版。

⑦ 王用中:《白居易初戀悲劇與〈長恨歌〉的創作》,《西北大學學報(哲學社會科學版)》1997 年第 2 期,頁 54–58。

⑧ 許淵沖:《白居易的〈長恨歌〉及其英譯》,《外語學刊》1984 年第 3 期,頁 49–61。

⑨ 張占軍:《白居易〈長恨歌〉的六個英譯版本比較》,《教育教學論壇》2019 年第 17 期,頁 33–35。

(Editors: LI Ruobing & Cherry LU)

On the Trans-edition of Public Signs
of the Aizhai Wonders Tourist Area in Xiangxi

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Abstract: Public signs are an important part of attractions in the international tourist city. Tourist attractions are filled with a large number of bilingual public signs to facilitate foreign visitors in China. In the context of translation program in Xiangxi Aizhai Wonders Tourist Area, this paper analyzes the translation of public signs in this tourist area and discusses editing translation of these public signs. Trans-editing methods like popular usage, prominent layout and highlighted extract can make public signs more accurate and lucid and highlight the application of public signs, providing the service to foreign visitors, which will achieve the cross-cultural communication effect.

Keywords: public signs; trans-editing; Xiangxi Aizhai Wonders Tourist Area

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湘西 5A 級景區公示語編譯研究
——以矮寨奇觀旅遊區為例

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摘　要：公示語已成為國際化旅遊城市景點的重要組成部分。旅遊景區內設置了大量的中英雙語公示語，以便外國遊客進行參觀。本文結合所參與的湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區公示語翻譯專案，對湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區內的公示語英譯進行分析，探討景區公示語的編譯策略，發現約定俗成、突出層次和提煉主題這三種編譯策略，能使公示語簡潔明瞭，符合目的語的表達習慣，突顯公示語的應用功能，彰顯景區公示語的服務內涵，從而使景區公示語達到跨文化交際的效果。

關鍵詞：公示語；編譯；湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區

引言

公示語作為應用型文本，具有因地、因人和因時制宜的特點，因此翻譯時要充分考慮英漢語言文化的差異。湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區於 2021 年 6 月確定為國家 5A 級旅遊景區，吸引了越來越多的外國遊客。景區設置了大量的多語標識牌，以便中外遊客更好地欣賞風景、瞭解地質文化及當地特色民族文化。編譯集編輯和翻譯為一體，由於英漢兩種語言的差異，適當運用編譯策略，能使公示語更簡潔，可讀性更高。本文結合所參與的湘西矮寨景區創 5A 的翻譯專案，探討編譯策略在景區公示語翻譯中的運用，具有一定的實踐意義。

一、公示語翻譯與編譯策略

作為外宣翻譯中不可忽視的一部分，公示語的翻譯反映了一個國家的人文環境建設程度。編譯是眾多翻譯策略中的一種，是對原文進行編輯和翻譯的過程。由於英漢在語言結構和文化背景的巨大差異，在公示語翻譯中採用編譯的策略，能讓目標語受眾準確無誤地理解原文所傳遞的資訊。

（一）公示語翻譯研究現狀

國外最早給出了公共標識語這一概念，並於 1959 年開始研究公共標識語。國外關於公示語翻譯的研究發展相對較早，並且越來越系統與規範。近些年，外國研究人員著重於公示語的定性分析與定量評估，以及建立語料庫。美國旅遊記者出版 *Signspotting* 一書，評估了世界上各個角落的不規範英語公示語，總結出 22 類「問題」，並制定瞭解決措施以供參考。如今，國外政府專設一些部門和人員進行監督，不同的領域都有了

規範的專有用語,甚至整理成冊出版。還有一些西方國家趨向於使用符號和圖像作標誌。

國內對公示語漢英翻譯的研究始於 1989 年,丁振祺探討了企業名稱的翻譯。21 世紀之後,公示語翻譯的研究逐漸成為熱點。21 世紀的第一個十年,相關研究主要側重於翻譯策略的分析、景點公示語英譯的分析和對英譯所存在的問題提出解決方法等方面。2011 年之後,研究則是集中在翻譯理論與實踐的結合,這極大地促進了公示語英譯研究的發展。孫小春[1]從語用角度探討了公示語的譯寫範圍、譯寫策略及其理據。曹波和李中涵[2]發現感染型公示語的翻譯要以傳遞感染功能和方式為目標。一些學者還開拓了國際研究領域,以期通過對比研究的方式,取得正反兩方面的研究成果。葉慧君和胡連影[3]發現,目的論、生態翻譯學理論、功能翻譯理論、文本類型理論、交際翻譯理論、功能對等理論、關聯理論和順應論等理論是最近十年公示語翻譯研究的熱點。

自 2017 年《公共服務領域英文譯寫規範》正式實施以來,各地標準和國家標準陸續出臺。2013 年張家界市社會科學界聯合會和張家界市翻譯工作者協會出版了《張家界市公示語英漢對照手冊》,2020 年吉首大學簡功友主持研製的《張家界全域旅遊公共標識語英文譯寫規範》正式發佈實施。這些標準的出臺在很大程度上避免了公示語翻譯可能出現的錯誤,但其尚未涵蓋公示語翻譯的所有層面,因此誤譯現象仍時有發生。

(二)編譯研究現狀

中國自有翻譯實踐以來,翻譯文本多數都有編譯的痕跡。1986 年,維頤、嘉祥、同均等人將常用的翻譯方法歸類,提出了編譯的定義,並總結出編譯的特點和存在形式。同年,酈日強通過多年的編譯實踐,總結出編譯文本的諸多優點。許多翻譯家都編譯了大量文學作品,還有眾多學者也對編譯策略進行深入研究。劉麗芬和黃忠廉[4]則從宏觀和微觀的層面概括出編譯方法,其中微觀方法主要有五種即摘取、合併、概括、調序和轉述,而宏觀方法則包括從段內、段際、篇內、篇際、書內和書際進行編譯。但是他們沒有結合具體的翻譯實踐對編譯的策略和技巧進行詳細的論述。張永中[5]運用外宣新聞和小品文的部分長句舉例,分析歸納出段內編譯的微觀策略即增、減、分、合、縮及調,但案例來源不夠一致,無法結合具體文章的特點進行總結。馮智強和李濤[6]從微觀的層面分析林語堂的多部著譯作品並歸納提煉出六種編譯策略即「選」「改」「釋」「創」「評」和「縮」,但沒有從宏觀的層面分析林語堂編譯著作所帶來的啟示。邵璐[7]分析葛浩文的譯文時提出回顧式編譯法適用於三種情況,即需迎合目標語讀者的閱讀習慣、作者要求源語文本「一字不改」和源文本的品質堪憂。侯健[8]從修中誠對中國古代哲學的編譯中發現修氏受新思潮的影響,在翻譯古典哲學時結合了當代哲學新解,傳遞出那個時代中西方文化碰撞下的中國思想。劉澤權和曹登霞[9]從《清·孫溫繪全本紅樓夢》畫冊的改編方法及其對原著的再現程度和特色,分析了畫冊譯文的翻譯策略,得出畫冊在改編時運用了放大、特寫、概括、刪減四種策略,重新演繹了一個故事高度濃縮、情節較為完備的連環畫本《紅樓夢》。根據不同時期的編譯發展歷程,賈洪偉[10]概括得出二十世紀八十年代的文章大部分是歸納從實踐中得出的經驗,九十年代的文章開始關注編譯的技巧和方法等原則性問題,二十一世紀以來的文章則更注重理論研究。這些學者從不同的角度對編譯進行了研究,使人們認識到編譯是一種適應時代和社會發展需要的翻譯方法,但較少在公示語翻譯上對編譯的策略進行系統性論述。

(三)公示語編譯研究現狀

公示語在實際應用中具有指示性、提示性、限制性、強制性這四種突出的應用功能[11]。景區內的公示語不僅為外國遊客提供涉及食、宿、行、遊、購、娛等方面的悉心關照,還能推動中國文化的傳播。公示語的翻譯,不是字字對應的翻譯,而是根據英語和漢語的差異,不斷改寫、調整、精加工甚至再創作,經過千錘百煉

的譯文才能達到預期的宣傳效果。周領順[12]認為,譯者翻譯時既需要轉換語言文字並再現語句意義,也要確保譯文適用於使用場景。因此,景區公示語的翻譯並未一直遵循傳統翻譯標準,有時需要打破慣例,採取編譯這種方法,主要是將編譯理論用於公示語的翻譯實踐中。在某些情況下,編譯這種翻譯方法能夠使景區公示語的譯文極易引發外國遊客的感觀刺激和閱讀視聽興趣,突出了可讀性,使外國遊客能夠集中注意力瞭解景區情況。因此,編譯可以解決因中英文化差異而影響宣傳效應等問題,在實踐中能夠產生更大的「即時報酬」效應。

二、湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區公示語編譯研究

本文結合所參加的湘西矮寨奇觀旅遊區公示語翻譯專案,根據景區內公示語的特點,基於編譯理論提出三種用於公示語翻譯的編譯策略,具體見以下案例。

（一）約定俗成

國內與國外的景點都包含一些提示性公示語,這些公示語通常含義相同,而約定俗成的編譯方法將國外已經成為慣用表達的用語作為公示語,盡可能做到了「入鄉隨俗」,這對國外遊客安全順暢地遊覽景區無疑具有積極的作用。

例 1

原文:無線網路覆蓋

譯文：Free Wi-Fi

分析:該公示語表達的是這個區域能夠免費使用無線網路,Wi-Fi 是無線局域網聯盟的一個商標,直接向外國遊客表示這裏有「免費無線」的含義即可,「Free Wi-Fi」現在基本是很多場所的慣用表達,不用字字翻譯如「Wireless Network Covered」。

例 2

原文:您已進入監控範圍

　　請注意行為規範

譯文:MONITORED BY VIDEO CAMERA

分析:景區的遊客接待中心可以為遊客提供眾多服務,為了防止出現貴重物品丟失等情況,接待中心一般會放置監控攝像頭。同時為了不觸犯遊客的隱私,接待中心一般會設置該公示語向遊客表明此處有監控,因此翻譯時可以直接採用「MONITORED BY VIDEO CAMERA」,所有字母大寫也能對外國遊客產生警示作用,如果按字面內容字字對應,翻譯成「You have entered into video monitor area, please note your behaviour.」則既繁瑣,也無法起到警示作用。

通過分析以上兩個案例可以發現,公示語翻譯時需要體現英語的思維,按照字面內容直接翻譯,會使譯文變成「中式英語」,讓外國遊客感到困惑,達不到預期的宣傳效果。公示語英譯須以外國遊客為本,部分通用的公示語可以採用約定俗成的表達,這樣既遵循英語的表達習慣,又能讓外國遊客一望而知,取得對外宣傳的效果。

（二）突出層次

由於英漢兩種語言之間的巨大差異,英漢句子結構很難實現完全對應。因此,在一些公示語的漢英翻譯中,為了強調邏輯,採用突出層次的方式進行編譯,重新調整原文順序,使譯文的銜接更加緊湊,形成和諧

的整體。

例 3

原文：溫馨提示

懸崖棧道全長 1.6 公里

全程單向通行

請勿逆向遊覽

譯文：Tips

The Cliff Walkway is 1.6km long.

One-way Passage

Entry Only

分析：該公示語放置在懸崖棧道的入口處，編譯時突出重點「1.6km」「One-way Passage」以及「Not in reverse direction」，並且和原文保持相同的排版語相即譯文也譯成三行，而不是直接翻譯成一條長句「The cliff plank road is 1.6km long, and one-way in the whole process, please do not visit in reverse direction.」前者展現層次的編譯方式能使外國遊客一目了然。

例 4

原文：溫馨提示

您即將進入德夯峽谷景區，德夯峽谷景區需另行購票，價格：80 元/每人。

旅遊區諮詢電話：0743-8665205

譯文：Tips

You are about to enter Dehang Scenic Area.

Another ticket is needed.

Price: 80 yuan/person

Consultation: 0743-8665205

分析：該公示語放置在山腰處即遊客的路途中，編譯時運用分段突出「另行購票」「價格」和「諮詢電話」，即使用「Another ticket」「Price」和「Consultation」作為每一小段的開頭，外國遊客能夠迅速領會其中含義，不用在山腰長期停留，在山腳的德夯景區入口處也不用再次詢問是否需要買票。

根據以上兩個案例可以發現，遊客的體驗與公示語的佈局和篇幅密不可分，因此在翻譯過程中需要對原文的結構做出適當的改變，運用編譯方法突出層次，簡潔明瞭地傳達出公示語所有重要的資訊，外國遊客在遊覽途中能夠迅速看到所需資訊，不必長時間駐足影響遊覽效果。

（三）提煉主題

由於空間有限，國外遊客往往是略讀公示語，因此，為了濃縮原文精華，運用提煉主題的編譯方法，減少篇幅，又忠實於原文內容，使譯文讀者在較短的時間內瞭解原文的內容概貌。

例 5

原文：問天臺遊客承載量管理規定

尊敬的遊客：

問天臺是天然形成的石臺，面積狹小，為確保您的安全，請您遵守景區以下安全規定。

一、問天臺暫態最大遊客承載量為 10 人，日最大遊客承載量為 360 人，遊客數量不得超過最大遊客承載量。

二、請聽從工作人員指示,有序進入問天臺參觀遊覽。

三、在問天臺參觀遊覽時,嚴禁擁擠、推搡,嚴禁跨越安全警戒線。

譯文：Rules and Regulations

1. No more than 10 people on the platform at a time. No more than 360 people in one day to visit the platform.

2. Please visit in order.

3. Please keep within warning lines.

分析：該條例放置在問天臺前方不遠處,中間距離約兩三百米,中文有些冗長,但是重點很明確,是「最大遊客承載量」「日最大遊客承載量」「有序進入」和「嚴禁跨越安全警戒線」,所以編譯時只需譯出這三個重點,「No more than 10 people」放在句首更醒目,這樣方便外國遊客直接抓住重點,不用長期停留在公示牌處,影響其他遊客的遊覽體驗。

例 6

原文：溫馨提示

遊客朋友,您好!

為了預防高空拋物,遊覽大橋觀光通道時,嚴禁攜帶礦泉水、飲料,建議您按需購買,給您帶來不便,敬請諒解。

譯文：Tip

Do not bring mineral water or beverages in case of high-rise littering.

分析：該提示放置在觀光扶梯前,其中心含義就是不能攜帶水和飲料,因此直接編譯出這一重點即可,不用全部譯出如「To prevent high-rise littering, it is strictly forbidden to bring mineral water and beverages when visiting the sightseeing passage of the bridge. It is suggested that you buy them on demand, which may bring you inconvenience. Thank you for your understanding.」由於中英思維的差異,英文習慣先重點再解釋,所以將「in case of high-rise littering」放置在後,讓外國遊客一目了然,不用在扶梯口停留。

綜上所述,景區內有許多「提示」「規定」類公示語,一般篇幅冗長,資訊繁瑣,放置在公眾聚集處,因此翻譯時不宜一字不落地翻譯,需要編譯提煉出其中的重點,過濾一些無關緊要的次要資訊。經過編譯提煉之後的譯文減少了外國遊客的閱讀量,使遊客在短時間內掌握內容,極大提高了外國遊客的遊覽體驗舒適度。

三、結語

中國的對外交流越來越頻繁,越來越多的外國遊客來華遊覽。公示語能夠展現中國的國際形象,所以越來越受到政府、社會和公眾的關注。公示語出現在特定的場合,面向群體是該場所內有社會行為的所有人。公示語是一種交際行為,通過有效的言語手段引導遊客。公示語需要在較短的時間內獲得遊客的回應,因此,編譯作為一種特殊的翻譯改寫手段,其又編又譯的特點可以將公示語的含義集中地、立體地呈現給國外遊客。公示語編譯注重國外受眾的信息需求、接受心理和語言風格,因此在編譯過程中將受眾放之于心,根據實際情況進行編譯,以符合受眾認知。一些提示性公共標識語可以直接借鑒約定俗成的用語作爲譯文。景區公示語的編譯不僅考慮到了英漢語言層面的差異,符合英語的文化特徵,又能夠保存原文中有價值的內容,突出原文層次,同時還能提煉原文重點,增強譯文的可讀性,最終可以實現景區對外宣傳的目標。

注釋

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③ 葉慧君,胡連影:《2011—2020 年中國公示語翻譯研究綜述》,《上海翻譯》2021 年版,頁 29-33。

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⑥ 馮智強,李濤:《編輯出版家林語堂的編譯策略研究》,《遼寧師範大學學報》2016 年版,頁 135-140。

⑦ 邵璐:《藍色鉛筆下的編譯——論回顧式編譯法在葛浩文英譯莫言小說中的運用》,《中國外語》2016 年版,頁 106-111。

⑧ 侯健:《譯者的「搖擺」——論修中誠對中國古代哲學的編譯》,《中國翻譯》2021 年版,頁 115-123、192。

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(Editors: LIU Min & LENG Xueyuan)

[Scholar Profile]

潘澤泉：

中南大學公共管理學院副院長，二級教授，博士研究生導師。社會學博士，教育部「新世紀優秀人才支持計劃」入選，湖南省「芙蓉學者」特聘教授，中南大學「升華學者」特聘教授，國家社會科學基金重大項目首席專家，教育部哲學社會科學研究重大課題攻關項目首席專家，教育部高等學校科學研究優秀成果獎獲得者，湖南省委「重大決策咨詢智囊團」專家，湖南省智庫聯盟專家，中國人文社科最具影響力青年學者（2015）。美國密歇根大學、印度尼西亞大學交流學者，擔任中國社會學會理事，湖南省社會學會學術委員會主任及常務理事。

主要研究領域包括：社會學理論、社會研究方法與社會統計技術，社會發展、社會質量與社會政策，人口發展、社會心理與行為，社區治理、社會組織與社會工作等。主持國家社科基金重大招標項目1項（首席專家），教育部哲學社會科學研究重大課題攻關項目1項（首席專家），國家社科基金重點項目1項，國家社科基金青年、一般項目4項，主持國家社會科學基金重大招標項目子課題2項，主持省社科基金重點和一般項目3項。在《中國社會科學》《社會學研究》《中國人口科學》《國外社會科學》等刊物發表高水平學術論文130餘篇，出版學術專著4部（獨著），參著10餘部，主編和參編教材5部。獲得一系列國家和省部級獎勵和榮譽稱號：《國家調整農民工社會政策研究》2012年入選《國家哲學社會科學成果文庫》，《國家調整農民工社會政策》2015年獲得教育部第七屆高等學校科學研究優秀成果獎（人文社會科學）三等獎，另獲湖南省哲學社會科學優秀成果獎多項。

FULL NAME: PAN Zequan
AFFILIATION: Central South University, China
INTRODUCTION:

PAN Zequan, level-two professor and doctoral supervisor, is currently chair of the Department of Sociology and deputy dean of the School of Public Administration in Central South University, Hunan province, China. He has been awarded a number of professional titles such as "New Century Excellent Talent" by Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, "Furong Scholar" granted by Hunan Provincial Department of Education, a member of Hunan Provincial Party Committee's Major Decision Consulting Think Tank, and one of the Most Influential Young Scholars in Chinese Humanities and Social Sciences in 2015, etc. He once conducted his research as a visiting scholar in the University of Michigan and the University of Indonesia.

His research focuses on such areas as theory and method of sociology, public health, social psychology and behavior, social development, social policy and community governance, social organization and social work, and among others. As a prolific scholar, he has published four monographs and more than 130 high-level papers in scholarly journals such as Social Science in China, Sociological Studies, Chinese Journal of Population Science, Social Sciences Abroad, Tianjin Social Sciences, etc. He is the chief expert of two major projects respectively sponsored by the National Social Science Fund of China and Ministry of Education of PRC. In addition, he has led his team and fulfilled more than 10 national and provincial academic projects.

Due to his outstanding academic achievements, he has been awarded many honors. His work titled Study on the Adjusted Social Policy of Migrant Workers in China was selected into the National Library of Philosophy and Social Sciences Achievements in 2012, and the work won the third prize of Excellent Achievements of Humanities and Social Sciences awarded by Ministry of Education of PRC. Moreover, his other works and papers have also won some honors on the provincial level.

He has actively supported community outreach and extension activities. In addition to serving as a policy consultant for the Ministry of Civil Affairs, he is also a member of Chinese Sociological Association, China Disability Research Society, and Hunan Disabled Persons' Federation, as well as director of academic committee of Hunan Sociological Association, etc.

[Scholar Profile]

格特‧格羅布勒：

1947年4月出生於約翰內斯堡，1967年畢業於南非自由州大學，隨後進入南非外交部工作，畢生心血都傾注在南非的外交事業上。其外交生涯足跡遍布美國、英國、西班牙、德國、安道爾、日本、馬達加斯加等許多國家和地區。先後任南非駐漢堡總領館副總領事、駐芝加哥總領館總領事，最後官至分管歐美事務的副總司長。

進入新世紀後，他於2002年出任南非駐西班牙兼安道爾大使。2008年至2012年，他又履新南非駐日本大使。從2012年至2016年，他調任南非駐馬達加斯加大使。在南非外交系統工作近半個世紀，作為南非外交戰線上的資深外交官和特殊的參與者，他分別見證了舊南非和新南非各近四分之一世紀的發展歷程。

現為浙江師範大學非洲研究院高級研究員，除積極指導青年教師和學生外，還深入中國民間，了解中國社會，在全國各地發表演講，多次在國際輿論場為中國發聲，駁斥西方媒體涉華不實報道，傳播中非合作好聲音。

FULL NAME: Gert J. Grobler
AFFILIATION: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Africa
INTRODUCTION:

Gert J. Grobler was born in Johannesburg in April 1947. He graduated from the Free State University of South Africa in 1967, and then worked in the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has devoted his life to the diplomatic career of South Africa. His career as a diplomat has covered many countries and regions such as the United States, Britain, Spain, Germany, Andorra, Japan, Madagascar, etc. He successively served as the Deputy Consul General of the South African Consulate General in Hamburg, the Consul General in Chicago, and finally the Deputy Director General in charge of European and American affairs.

In the 21st century, he became South Africa's ambassador to Spain and Andorra in 2002. From 2008 to 2012, he was the South African ambassador to Japan. And he was appointed Ambassador to Madagascar from 2012 to 2016. Working in South Africa's diplomatic system for nearly half a century as a senior diplomat and special participant in South Africa's diplomatic front, he has witnessed the development of the old South Africa and the new South Africa for nearly a quarter of a century.

Now he is attached as a senior researcher at the African Institute of Zhejiang Normal University, Zhejiang province, China. In addition to actively guiding young teachers and students, he also goes deep into the Chinese people and understands the Chinese society. He has delivered speeches all over the country, and has repeatedly spoken for China in the international public opinion field, refuting Western media's false reports on China, and spreading the good voice of China-Africa cooperation.